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The MODERN REVIEW

Founded by : RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

RAM. CHATTERJI

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Founded by — RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

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JANUARY—FEBRUARY 1983

MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

THE SEVENTH NON-ALIGNED NATIONS CONFERENCE

The Preliminary drafts on the political and economic subjects to be discussed at the Non-aligned Nations conference to be held in New Delhi in March have been forwarded to New York where presumably they will be distributed to the envoys of the nations concerned. It is of interest to know that these contain topics vital to the many nations concerned, including several highly controversial ones.

Such for example are the drafts which deal with the Afghanistan and Kampuchean problems, the Iran—Iraq war, the deteriorating situation in West Asia, the Namibian problem, the militarization of the Indian Ocean, or the situation in South-East Asia. Also included are references to the need for Disarmament including an end to the arms race. It is interesting to note that, all the Political drafts recommend that the non-aligned nations should keep away from the influence and pressures of Big Powers.

The urgent need to begin global negotiations as well as greater self reliance through collective efforts of the developing nations is stressed in the economic draft. Among

other problems, the need for the developed nations to do away with their protectionist policies, as also short-term and long-term measures for correcting the international economic order will be taken up. By and large it is hoped that the Summit will aim at consideration of reversing the alarming trend of contraction in the world economy, which will include package plans on food, finance, energy and trade, among other related subjects. Specifically this will involve the establishment of a consultative committee on planning so that inter-regional cooperation in critical areas such as food production, processing of raw materials as well as setting up of a bank for developing countries may be processed.

It would thus appear that both the political and economic drafts which will be circulated among the nations concerned have emphasized comprehensively the views of the non-aligned on the different current international issues with which they are involved. But it should be noted at the sametime that the reception of these drafts by some of these nations has made apparent the fact that there is difference of opinion regarding several

topics such as eg Kampuchea and it is obvious that these differences may be brought out during the summit proceedings in a big way.

REFLECTIONS ON REGIONALISM

Of late it has been observed that National parties appear to be on the decline while regional ones seem to be replacing them. Several recent elections confirm this contention, particularly eg those of the *Telegu Desam* in Andhra Pradesh and the Janata-Ranga combine in Karnataka. Indeed, the emergence of Mr Rama Rao's *Telegu Desam* has upset the Congress monopoly in A.P, bringing as it has the first ever non-Congress Government into a traditional Congress stronghold. The same may also be said about Karnataka.

Looking back it is apparent that regional parties are not a new feature of Indian Political life. Before independence there were such parties as eg the *Milita Jans Sangha* (United People's Party) in Assam which was formed in the thirties as a rival faction to stem the rising popularity of the Congress. Again there was also the *Justice Party* in Madras which was anti-Brahmin and supported by other castes of the area. But the 1952 elections did not bring out any of these and by and large it was correct to say that the Congress was the only party of any eminence throughout the Country with the few regional ones being placed among "Independents and others."

Over the last 20 years however there has been a drastic change. Excepting in a few areas the Congress hold has declined throughout the Country and significantly fairly permanent regional parties have risen in many areas. For example the National Conference of Sheikh Abdullah retains its hold in Kashmir while the AIADMK, The Akali Dal, and the All Party Hill Leader's Conference have also become permanent features

of our political scene. Infact there seem to be more than 25 recognised regional parties as well as several which are not recognised. On the other hand there are also about 6-7 National parties and not the Congress alone as was the case when the nation became independent.

Thus the nation now faces several problems in this connection of which three are major ones. Of primary importance is whether regional parties play a useful role in our existing political system. Secondly, whether they should be automatically dubbed as being non-national or as factors disturbing national integration. And finally, how responsible their emergence is for the rising friction between the Centre and the States? Taking them in order we find that regionalism was accepted by the formulators of our Constitution since the demarkation of the States was done on a Linguistic, Cultural, Ethnic, or sub-regional basis. Again the Constitution makers catered for regional ethnic forces within our political system when the division of functions between the States and the Union were laid down in the State List, the Union List and the Concurrent List. It appears therefore that regionalism is neither contrary to the system of governance nor against the spirit of the Constitution.

Secondly, it is obvious that many of the regional parties eg the National Conference in Kashmir, the AIADMK in Tamil Nadu cannot be described as non-national as they have never advocated secession. And finally when examining the question of the worsening Centre-State relations it should be remembered that these relations are bound to come under reconsideration from time to time. For the norms suitable 30 years ago need not necessarily be so to-day and new ones will have to be evolved according to the needs of the times.

REPRINT

INDIAN PEASANT PROPRIETORS IN MAURITIUS

Modern Review—February, 1911

"It is upon the progress and prosperity of these small planters that the future of the Colony must largely depend"—Report of the Mauritius Royal Commission of 1909, para 52.

Out of the hundreds of thousands of unfortunate men and women tought away from the district of Arrah and the Presidency of Madras, a few thousand have been able, mainly by their frugality and love of agriculture, to strike root into the soil of Mauritius—and the roots have gone very deep indeed—so deep, in fact, that the French or semi-French planters and the Government consider this an accomplished fact and know that it is impossible to initiate, in Mauritius, anything like the Transvaal anti-Asiatic laws.

The following paragraphs copied verbatim from the report of the Mauritius Royal Commission of 1909 correctly represent what ought to be the policy of the British Government towards the Indian population :—

RELATIONS OF GOVERNMENT TOWARDS INDIAN POPULATION.

One of the most difficult of the problems which lie before the Mauritius Government is that of its relations with the population of Indian descent. For about three quarters of a century it had been found possible for the Colonial Government to regard the Indian as a stranger among a people of European civilisation—a stranger who must indeed be protected from imposition and ill-treatment and secured in the exercise of his legal rights but who has no real claim to a

voice in the ordering of the affairs of the Colony. From what we have learnt during our enquiry, we very much doubt whether it will be possible to continue to maintain this attitude. The Indian population of the Colony is easily governed and has, we believe, no natural inclination to assert itself in political matters so long as reasonable regard is paid to its desires on a few questions to which it not unreasonably attaches importance. In our opinion the fact that the first settlers in Mauritius were of French and African origin, and that as a consequence of the history of the island the legal and social system of the Colony is mainly French in character, ought not to preclude the Government from taking steps to relieve the Indian population from the provisions of a system which press heavily upon them and are regarded by them as a real grievance. It is no sufficient answer to their representations to say that they or their ancestors came to Mauritius of their own will and must accept the conditions in force there. Such an argument might be conclusive in the case of a small section of the Community—such, for example, as the Chinese—but it loses its force when it is urged against the aspirations of British Indian subjects who outnumber the rest of the inhabitants by more than two to one and who play so important a part in the industrial life of the Community.

FREEING INDIANS FROM FRENCH LAW.

We have already alluded (paragraph 147)

to one of the minor complaints of the Asiatic Community—the preference shown in the Customs tariff to the butter used by the European Community as compared with the ghee used by the Indian. A much more important matter is the strong objection which both Mohammedans and Hindus entertain to being fettered in the disposition of their property by the French law of succession. We have already (paragraph 63-65) commented on the manner in which, in our opinion, that law tends to hamper the evolution of the sugar manufacturing industry. In like manner, it tends to produce among the Indian small planters an undue and uneconomic sub-division of their holdings. The Indian witnesses who pressed this question upon our notice asked that the Mohammedan and Hindu laws of succession should be recognised and enforced by the Mauritius Courts in the case of the estates of deceased Indians. Such a proposal cannot be rejected as impracticable. A similar system exists in India and in other colonies with an Eastern population. We do not, however, recommend its adoption, since we believe that the real grievance which the Indians feel can be remedied by simpler means. Our proposal is that the limitations imposed by French law on the power of disposing of property shall not apply to any person domiciled in Mauritius who on his marriage and with the written concurrence of his wife notifies the Civil Status Officer his desire that those limitations should not apply to any estate of which they, or either of them, may die possessed.

INDIAN MARRIAGES.

Another matter on which in our opinion, relief ought to be afforded to the Indian is the law of marriage. By Mauritian law no marriage entered into in the Colony is valid except after a civil ceremony performed

by a duly authorised Government officer of the Civil Status Department. A large proportion of the Indians marry according to the rites of their own faith, but do not care to incur the trouble and expense of a ceremony—to them meaningless—before the Civil Status Officer. As a result, while such unions are regarded as perfectly regular by all persons of the same race, their offspring are subject to all the legal disabilities of illegitimacy. We cannot regard this condition of affairs as satisfactory, and we consider that some steps should be taken to alter it.

Perhaps the most convenient arrangement would be to appoint in each district as unpaid assistant Civil Status Officers a certain number of Mohammedan and Hindu priests of good standing with their Co-religionists, and to register and recognise as valid all marriages entered into before them according to their own rites by persons of the same religion.

INDIAN REPRESENTATION

No Council can legitimately claim to speak authoritatively for Mauritius as a whole does not contain a substantial proportion of members who represent that hitherto unrepresented Community of Asiatic descent who plays such an important part in the life of the Colony and comprises more than two thirds of its population.

INDIAN EDUCATION

Although the community is almost entirely an agricultural one, hardly anything is done to give either theoretical or practical instruction in agriculture. The code contains provisions which appear to be excellent under which half-time schools may be established for the instruction of Indian Children in the obligatory subjects of ordinary schools up to Standard IV. In such a school an Indian

dialect may be substituted for either French or English, and the teachers must be able to speak and write at least one Indian language. Advantage has, however, not been taken of these provisions in practice, the reason given being that there is no public demand for the establishment of such schools. In our opinion, the adoption of schools of this character—half-time or otherwise—in which simple instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, and gardening should be given, as far as possible, in the mother tongue of the child, and in any case not more than two languages employed, should be made compulsory in the country districts where the existing primary schools are attended largely by Indian Children. At present the child of an Indian agricultural labourer or small holder learns, out of school, to speak his Indian mother tongue and the local dialect, founded on French, and known as Creole. In school he is taught a certain amount of English and French, which, if he follows his father's calling, he will seldom or never use again. He thus obtains a smattering of four languages and an adequate knowledge of none. The nature of his schooling naturally leads him to aspire to become a clerk, or adopt some other calling not entailing manual labour. The field of employment open to such youths is small in a colony like Mauritius, and the result is that a considerable proportion of them become unemployed loungers, living on the scanty earnings of their parents. It is for these reasons, amongst others, that we strongly recommend the introduction of technical and agricultural training.

NO LAND-TAX.

Because it was pointed out amongst other objections that if levied on area it would fall unjustly on the Indian peasant

proprietors, who commonly buy the poor and less profitable lands, such a tax would operate as a hardship upon "poor men struggling to make a living out of a small market garden or canepiece."

It will be seen from the foregoing extracts that so far as the free Indian population of Mauritius is concerned there is little resemblance between our Colony, and any other. Here the Indianisation of the colony has been going on for years and though now the descendents of the original French planters think that their forefathers practiced false economy by not providing for the compulsory return of Indian immigrants to their mother country after their contracts of service were over, it is too late now to mend what is supposed to have been a gross political blunder. Indianisation in Mauritius is the bogie of local politicians calling themselves "Mauritians" in a narrow sense of patriotism—and herculean efforts are being made in the Columns of the so-called "oligarchic" papers of Mauritius to rouse the white or pseudo-white French population of Mauritius against the aspirations of those, who or whose fore-fathers had come to Mauritius on the invitation of the then masters of the soil, from whom gradually ownership of land is passing by a peaceful process of industrial evolution to the hard-working and grateful sons of Behar, who love mother earth better than any other section of the local population and sacrifice their fat and blood to enrich the soil. The so-called "Mauritians" (exclusively so-called) do not like to do manual labour and there is no wonder that land yields her favours to those who tenaciously stick to her even at the cost of some of the necessities of life.

Indians cultivate about 92,000 acres of land for white planters and about 40,000 acres on their own account. The protector of immigrants estimates the price of the land possessed by those small Indian planters at about Rs. 1,800,000. Besides Indians possess land on which fruits, vegetables, maize and other food-stuffs are grown. About 22½ per cent of the total sugarcane grown in the colony belongs to the Indian peasantry, as will be seen from the figures for 1907 :—

Total weight of Sugar-Cane
crushed.....1,580,517 tons.

Sugar-Cane

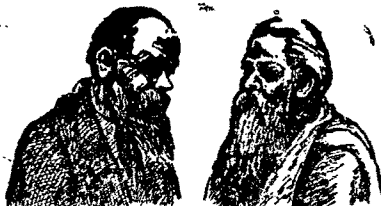
belonging To Indians.....351,662 tons.

The yield per acre of the small Indian planter is less than half that of the large estates. This must not be attributed to lack of enterprise or industry on the part of the Indian planter, though there is certainly inferior culture; for it must be remembered that it is the unprofitable lands or estates that have been parcelled out. Parcelling out of land among Indians is the fate of lands which do not find purchasers among the estate owners. But it is of course apparent that the Indians have not funds sufficient to carry on anything like proper cultivation. They are

obliged to economise on the items of labour and manure."

Thus wrote Sir Graham Bower, the then Colonial Secretary, on the 23rd of June 1909, to the Royal Commission. Now these small Indian planters possess the political franchise; but they are not able to exercise a free vote on account of their economic dependence upon the white planters or factory-owners, to whom purchase-money may be partly or wholly owing, or from whom advances may have been obtained for buying manure etc., or upon whose factories most Indians depend for the sale of their sugar-cane and crushing of it to manufacture sugar. There is at present an election going on in Mauritius and the so-called oligarchs threaten to boycott sugar-cane belonging to small Indian planters in their respective districts in case they vote for what is locally known as the Action Libérale (Liberal party) which is running one Hindu and one Mahomedan candidate to secure the cooperation and the votes of the overwhelming Indian majority in favour of their other Mauritian Candidates of a liberal type.

—Manilal M. Doctor, M.A. L. L. B.,
Barrister-at-Law. Delegate from Mauritius
to the Indian National Congress, 1910.



THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE THIRD WORLD AND SUPER POWERS: IN IDEOLOGICAL PRESPECTIVE

Dr. MALLAPPA AMRAVATI

The Third World is a cant phrase derived from the French tiers monde and used to describe those countries which are plainly neither Communist nor Western. Some countries clearly belong to it and others, just as clearly, do not. This phrase does not strictly apply to the Third World as it is constituted at present. There are a number of communist regimes in the Third World such as Cuba, Vietnam and some communist backed states in Africa. There are others which geographically belong to it, but are not in it, such as Japan, Israel and South Korea.

The defeat of Germany and Japan in World War II initiated profound changes in international politics. Among other things, it created military and economic vacuum in Europe and Asia. The European colonial powers were exhausted by war and preoccupied by domestic problems and were faced with the liberation movements in their colonies. The United States and the Soviet Union emerged out of the turmoil as the two Super Powers. Utilizing the situation created by the war, the two powers either wished to occupy as much of the vacuum as possible or at least prevent hostile states from occupying it.

They are called Super Powers because of their military might, power and influence. Of the two the United States is the mightiest

in terms of vast resources, technology, wealth and military power. It was the only national state to possess atomic weapons in the world in 1945. There are very wide gaps between the Third World and the Super Powers in terms of power, wealth and ideology.

In this paper an attempt is made to indicate the characteristics of the Third World and those of the Super Powers, their inter-relationship and areas of conflict and co-operation. Before we do that a question may be asked what has happened in the last two centuries to create this singular lopsidedness between the Third World and Super Powers? The plain and simple answer is the Industrial Revolution that occurred in the west in the 18th C. Britain "sitting in coal and surrounded by fish—the gem set in a silver sea and moated against the envy of less happier lands"¹ was the home of the Industrial Revolution. The 18th C. became par excellence the experimenting century when citizens from dukes to artisans conducted, virtually in their back yard, passionate enquiries into the behaviour of practically everything—minerals, metals, machines, plants, steam power and water power. Out of this interest and work a stream of improvements began to flow. Then the maritime peoples of Europe began to compete all round the world to bring home the spoils of trade from the

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rich orient. Bankers and merchants worked hard to accumulate capital. In the 18th C. Britain's fortunes were also growing as world wide British commercial empire grew, particularly in India with the collapse of the Mughal Empire. The returning merchant plunderers were named "Moghls" as they repatriated vast sums. This financial and machine power enabled Britain to establish an empire in Asia and Africa in the 19th C. over which the British boasted the sun never set. The other European powers such as the French, the Dutch, the Portuguese and the Spanish built their own empires in the East and Latin America, though it should be mentioned that Portugal and Spain were the pioneers in empire building. The British economy was outclassed by the United States and, up to a point, by Germany before the end of the 19th c. The Soviet Union on the other hand built a mighty industrial economy largely after the October Revolution of 1917. No nation in the history of battle ever suffered more than the Soviet Union in the second World War. At least 20,000,000 lost their lives. Countless millions of homes and families were burned or sacked. A third of the nation's territory, including two-thirds of its industrial base, was turned into a wasteland. The Third world countries were milked dry by the Imperial powers, reducing them to impoverishment, stagnation and slavery. They remained predominantly farming communities.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE THIRD

WORLD

Whoever travels through the lands of the Third World, is inevitably impressed by the bewildering variety of races, religions, languages and customs to be found among them. Indeed they appear to have so little in common, apart from all being poor, and

almost all being passionately nationalistic. Their economies are in varying stages of development which compels some among them to prefer bilateral relations with the Super Powers when aid is offered, even though it comes with strings attached. As has been stated above, the Third World is traditional, static, food farming and poor. Their poverty and common experience during the colonial rule have been the sources of unity among them in their fight against economic exploitation and political domination by the Super Powers.

Most of the Third World is non-aligned. Rejecting power politics and the traditional balance of power theory the Third World countries believe that alignment leads to world tension and ultimately to war which they can ill afford in their pre-occupation with nation building and developmental activities. As Jawaharlal Nehru once said "without peace all our dreams of development will turn to ashes".² Therefore the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian nations in 1955 advised the member nations to refrain from arrangements of collective defense which serve the interest of the Super Powers.

The Third World countries are nationalistic as are the Super Powers and other European nations. Naturally they are against colonialism and racial discrimination. It is because of their concerted efforts both in the United Nations and in other International forums against colonialism, there remain a very few pockets of colonial rule in the world to-day. Through their declaratory resolutions in the United Nations against racial discrimination in South Africa, the Third World has drawn the attention of enlightened world opinion against the outrageous policy of apartheid in Southern Africa.

They unite on questions which vitally affect them such as, on reforming the United Nations structure so as to give more weightage to the Third World than was envisaged at San Francisco. The Third World voted as a solid bloc on the issue of enlargement of the Security, Economic and Social Councils beyond their original narrow confines. ECAFE and UNCTAD provide useful forums for concerted action for the Third World.

The Third World countries believe in building up an international community of equals and in each nation's dignity and ability to manage their own affairs. They believe in a world community free from exploitation and in the freedom and dignity of all races, and in a world free from the ever present nuclear threat and in so doing they advocate complete general and nuclear disarmament. In short they are as passionately attached to liberty and peace as the Super Powers profess. Their general demand at present is for the establishment of a just and equitable International economic order.

CHARACTERISTIC OF THE SUPER POWERS

The world is divided according to western scholars between Freeland and Marxland, each seeking to thwart the aspirations of the other for global hegemony and win world leadership for itself.

Americans think that theirs is a land of freedom, free enterprise and democracy, showing all men the golden road towards liberty and riches. They believe that every dictator is an enemy of freedom and opponent of law. The Russians, on the other hand reveal communism as the creative wave of the future and capitalism as a decadent and doomed system of domestic exploitation and foreign imperialism.

Americans used to call the non-aligned nations as misguided neutrals to be sooner or later taken over into the rival camps of the Super Powers. Whereas communists were of the view that the Third World was predestined to embrace Marxism because of its inevitable march to revolution and because of historical necessity.

This persisting image of the mansions of men bore less and less resemblance to reality with the passing years and by late 1950's was already a false guide. Then, what is the reality about the Super Powers vis-a-vis the Third World?

The Super Powers are white, wealthy, exploitative and indifferent. First we shall deal with the United States. The United States like its adversary the Soviet Union follows a policy of hegemony and exploitation. It still believes in John Foster Dulles concept of the world that "those who are not with us are against us." It has assumed the mantle of the former European imperial powers and perceives its role in the world as the police man of the international community. Its numerous forces in all regions of the world is a testimony to its perception as the guardian of the so called free world. It styles itself as the defender of freedom and democracy but supports dictators and reactionary regimes all over the world. Its leading lights have all affirmed their faith in the concept of balance of power and the United States conducts its diplomacy in the light of this concept and seeks to achieve superiority in military might against its adversary, namely, the Soviet Union. It controls foreign trade and International financial institutions to a very large extent. When the Third World countries are in dire need of finances, the United States puts conditions for aid and loan from IMF and

World Bank, thereby having a tight grip on the monetary policies of aid receivers. It manipulates the prices of primary products which the Third World exports, and by so doing gets the full advantage of the falling prices of raw materials for which the Third World farmers and minors have to pay heavily. It is an immensely rich country; in a single year in 1964 the United States added to its GNP the equivalent of whole of Africa's wealth or 50% of Latin America's national wealth. High research favours it.

The United States policy towards the Third World has been a mixture of idealism and realism. During President Kennedy's administration the Third World received considerable attention in the State Department. Speaking about world peace Kennedy said that the United States seeks peace "Not a pax American enforced on the world by American weapons of war. Not the peace of the grave or the security of the slave"⁴. Again in the same speech he said "For we are both (United States and Soviet Union) devoting massive sums of money to weapons that could be better devoted to combat ignorance, poverty and disease"⁵. In keeping with this idealism the United States has stood behind numerous United Nations schemes for alleviating poverty and improving conditions in Asia and Africa. It has devoted considerable diplomatic and scholastic resources to further understanding of Third World affairs. At times it has expressed muted criticism of colonial policies of fellow members of the NATO, and has taken a broader view of formerly colonial areas than either Britain and France. Its attitude at the United Nations has been expansive and co-operative embodying a constant search for allies and associates. And it has given a larger amount of aid to the Third World

countries than any other member of the United Nations.

On the other hand the United States in its policy of prestige and power has been continuing the gun-boat diplomacy of the 19th C. i. e. a policy of intervention and subversion all over the World. Its policy in East Asia, West Asia, Africa and Latin America has been one of either supporting reactionary regimes or putting puppet governments in some of the countries in the regions. In Southeast Asia it suffered utter humiliation and defeat in Viet Nam in 1960's because of its policy of de-stabilisation and neo-colonialism. It covertly supports South Africa's policy of apartheid and tries to destabilise the so called leftist regimes in that continent. In recent times in its policy of preventing a proliferation of 'Cuba-Model States' in central South America, the United States has been following the covert policy of destabilisation of Sandinist government in Nicaragua, and has been supporting the reactionary military regime in EL Salvador and pro United States elements in Guatemala. The United States policy in the Third World is not so much to control its territories as it is to control its resources. The Reagan Administration refused to sign the law of the sea convention and is reluctant to start global negotiations with the Third World for the establishment of a just economic order,

As far as the Soviet policy towards the Third World is concerned, it begins from a stand point of doctrine. It puts the Third World into perspective as an area of opportunity in which historical forces may be expected to further the interest of communism if given the help which every generation is supposed to give to the historical process. But the real fact is that the doctrine is imprecise and the sense of

national security so pressing.

Believing that only communist parties could bring real liberation of the people in the Third World the Soviet Union adopted a tactical attitude towards the national governments in the Third World countries in 1950's, describing some as progressive and others as reactionary. Those countries which support Soviet policies in the world at large are progressive and those who do not are reactionary.

In fact in real terms there is very little difference between the foreign policy of Tsarist Russia and the present communist regime in the Soviet Union except that it has now an ideological base. It seeks world hegemony and domination like its adversary the United States. It keeps an iron grip on its satellites in Eastern Europe. What happened in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland and East Germany when they tried to assert their independence in the last several decades is well known to students of International Relations. In all regions of the world the Soviet Union tries to fish in troubled waters to put local communists in power and maintain its domination over them. It, like the United States, follows a policy of realism i.e. a policy of national prestige and power. Its recent foray in Afghanistan is too fresh in our memory to be mentioned here. In economic matters concerning the Third World the Soviet Union is no less exploitative. Some critics have alleged of the Soviet Union that the usual practice is to tag a high price on outmoded equipment and substandard weapons and exchange them for strategic raw materials and farm produce of the Third World countries. This criticism should be taken with a pinch of salt. It kept away from the North-South summit at Cancun maintaining

that it was the primary responsibility of the former colonial powers to cough out a part of their ill-gotten wealth to pay for the development of their victims.

At the same time the Soviet Union has been a formidable and sympathetic friend of the Third World. It has come to their aid when the United States refused such aid, the Aswan High Dam in Egypt and steel plants in India are the best examples. It usually supports the anti-colonial and equitable political and economic rights of the Third World countries in the United Nations and outside.

To sum up the Third world is of the view that the future fortunes of the world community are likely to be shaped more decisively by the relations between the rich and poor than by the relations between capitalists and communists. There is an appalling disparity in living standards between the well-to-do nations and the impoverished nations of the Third world. The poor countries of the Third World believe that a debt is owed to them because of their part in the prosperity of the developed nations.

Further, because of the revolutionary changes brought about by modern science and technology, nations have become interdependent and mother earth a small place to live in. Therefore there is an imperative need for cooperation between the Third World and the Super Powers and other developed countries in areas of food production, conservation, and energy etc.

The western view that "a Third World characterized by unity, purpose and effective tactics is here, as elsewhere a Chimera"⁷ has been effectively answered by the 7th Non-aligned Summit at Delhi recently. It was a great success in building unity and cohesion

among the Third World countries. The Third World countries were never United more than now for global negotiation for the establishment of a just International economic order. Therefore an adequate grasp of the moving forces which are troubling the present and promise to be decisive for the future world community requires that we take full cognizance of these trends of change.

FOOTNOTES

1. Barbara ward, *Spaceship Earth* (Columbia University Press, New York 1966) pp. 72 & 91.
2. Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi's

speech at the 7th Non-aligned Summit, see *The Hindu* 6 March 1983, 7.

3. Ward. n. 1 54.
4. President John F. Kennedy, 'Commencement Address at American University' in Frederick H. Hartmann, *World in Crisis: Readings In International Relations* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1967) 211.
5. Ibid, 214.
6. *New York Times* quoted in *The Hindu*, 15 April 1983, 8.
7. J. D. B. Miller, *The Politics of the Third World* (Oxford University Press, London 1967) 126.

THE ECONOMICS OF MINI-CEMENT PLANTS

Dr. P. S. SAXENA

The sustained growth in demand for cement and tardy implementation of capacity licensed in the large scale sector in the late sixties brought into focus the concept of mini-cement plants as an additional source of increasing the cement producing capacity in India. In keeping with steel and

paper industry, the cement industry also witnessed the setting up of mini-cement plants. A mini-cement plant is one the total capacity of which does not exceed 200 tonnes per day. The recent revamping of cement policy has given a boost to the setting up of mini-cement plants, though the concept

is nearly two decades old. The Industry Ministry has approved 121 projects for setting up nine cement units with a total capacity of 5.9 million tonnes per year. But as things have taken place, one can see the tardy progress achieved on this front. Some quarters have also declared it as a failure. Out of the 121 approved projects till June 1983, only six units had gone into production with total capacity of 182000 tonnes.

The reasons for slow implementation, as revealed by the monitoring report of the Industry Ministry, are the insurmountable hurdles faced by entrepreneurs in obtaining assistance from financial institutions.

The product can be sold in the free market at Rs. 1200 per tonne. The cost of production in a 7 to 10 tonnes per day plant comes to about Rs. 630 per tonne; with excise duty, sales tax etc. and with transport and distribution costs added, the selling price is Rs. 900 per tonne giving a margin of Rs. 300 per tonne.

The main benefits accruing from mini-cement plants are given below :

These plants are able to exploit economically the lime stone deposits scattered in different places but which are not adequate enough to support larger cement plants. India has more than 59 million tonnes of cement grade limestone reserves scattered over 100 sites.

The viable size of a cement plant in relation to a given deposit of cement grade limestone will depend on the size of the reserve itself. On an average, 1.5 tonnes of lime stone is required to produce one tonne of cement and a cement plant normally works for 330 days in a year. On this basis, a small deposit of limestone on one million

tonnes might be suitable for a cement plant of 80 tonnes per day (tpd) capacity. Accordingly, a deposit of 10 million tonnes might be suitable for a cement plant with a capacity range of 200 to 300 tpd.

The Cement Research Institute of India, after an in-depth study of all the relevant data has selected 40 sites for setting up mini-cement plants in the country. These sites have been chosen based on the following criteria :

1. Availability of sufficient reserves of cement grade limestone.
2. Adequate demand for the cement produced within a range of 100 km radius.
3. Availability of fuel and gypsum within economical limits.
4. The accessibility to the site and the availability of infrastructural facilities such as power, water, rail connection facilities etc.

Further, capital requirements are rather modest and within the means of small entrepreneurs. In some cases, internal project financing is possible.

Small plants require relatively smaller inputs, technology is indigenously available and existing transport facilities often prove adequate. And, most important, the shorter gestation period for a mini-cement unit is less. The capital investment required is well below Rs. 7 crores for a 66000 tonnes per year (tpy) plant and as low as Rs. one crores for a 10000 tpy plant.

The scale of production deserves increased attention in this connection since it has an immediate implication on the extent and cost of the infrastructure required. Large plants generally require extensive infrastructure.

tural support to ensure the continuous provision of energy, raw material and other operational requirement. On the other hand, the problem is not so formidable for smaller units.

Small plants have a small market radius, resulting in lower distribution costs and a more favourable price for the consumer as well as reduced pressure on transportation facilities. Further, there is also the advantage of promoting local economic development through dispersal of industrial activities.

Mini-cement plants are essentially those in which cement is manufactured on a much lower scale than in the conventional plants. The government of India, while announcing the incentives to be made available to mini-cement units, defined them as those having a capacity below 66000 tpy or 200 tpd. However what precisely differentiates a mini-cement plant from a conventional plant is the approach and content of the social and economic benefits it offers.

The technologies available for mini-cement plants are ; vertical shaft kiln (VSK) ; rotary kiln ; the inverted bed process ; sinter bed process, and fluid bed kiln process.

A large number of VSK plants and rotary kiln plants are in operation in other countries. In India, CRI has been operating a 20 tpd VSK plant at Mudavathur in Tamil Nadu since July 1976 and the cement produced conforms to ISI : 269-1976. It has also been used to experiment with different types of raw materials and fuels, in addition to coke breeze and lecofines etc. Thana of the Jharia Coal fields and low volatile coal from Kalakot mines in Jammu & Kashmir state have been tried in the plants and found suitable for use, thus greatly reducing the problem of fuel availability for VSK plants.

CRI has also commissioned 2 more VSK plants, both in Karnataka state. The first one is of 2 x 30 tpd capacity at Hosadurga, Chitradurga district and was commissioned in July 1981, the second at Lokapur, Bijapur district, 30 tpd capacity was commissioned in November 1981. Both these plants have started producing cement conforming to prescribed Indian standard specifications. With their commissioning, the concept of mini-cement plants in India has been accepted as a viable proposition for dispersal of this industry to remote and rural areas.

Considering the aspects of raw material and fuel, the appropriate technology for the mini-cement industry as recommended by the working group, is to go in for VSK technology for capacity below 100 tpd, while for capacities above 100 tpd and upto 200 tpd, VSK as well as rotary kiln could be adopted.

Industry circles have reportedly not welcomed the Government's policy to encourage mini-cement plants. The reason that is forwarded is the high cost of production. Cement being a capital-intensive industry, production in small units, it is pointed out, is not economical. It was pointed out that from a 1200 tonnes per day standard kiln six to seven years ago, the kiln range today is 2500 to 3000 tonnes per day and with advanced technology the industry may have to adopt sizes of 5000 tonnes per day in the years ahead. While this is the view of industry circles, some quarters put forth just the opposite view that mini-cement plants can produce as good a type of cement as any other in the large-scale sector. The Government on its part has decided to encourage the establishment of mini-cement units on the grounds as mentioned above.

As a matter of fact it may be pointed out that mini-cement plants have a temporary role to play. Their role is largely supplementary. They are basically required to meet the local needs for cement. Accordingly the setting up of mini-cement plants has gained momentum following the change in the fortunes of the cement industry. The project costs of the mini-cement plants are relatively low and therefore, they could be set up by middle level entrepreneurs. Moreover, they are completely free from price and distribution controls. However, as far as the advantages of the economies of scale are concerned, a recent study has shown that cement plants of one million tonnes and over are best suited to India in present times, and hence the future for mini-cement plants in years to come or after four or five years may not be good. Mini-cement plants may be successful in areas where limestone deposits are small and sufficient local demand exists. However, where large plants co-exist with mini-plants, the future of the mini-plants have to be viewed in a different manner.

The Government has decided that, in future, establishment of mini-cement plants be encouraged in remote and deficit areas and 'No Industry Districts'. In these areas there is no restriction for approving further capacity; for setting up mini-cement plants upto 200 tonnes per day provided the state governments concerned certify that limestone deposits to sustain such plants are so scattered that only mini-cement plants could be set up and not large sized cement plants.

This has been decided taking into consideration the impact of the operation of the scheme of partial decontrol of cement on mini-cement plants and the need to set up

such plants in deficit areas to meet the local demands.

The position in regard to establishment of mini-cement plants has recently been reviewed and it has revealed that a large number of such applications were for locating these plants in surplus areas. On the basis of materialisation of capacities in the long run, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Maharashtra are expected to be surplus with reference to availability of cement within the respective states.

It has been decided that mini cement plants based on rotary kiln which are normally of the size of 200 tonnes per day capacity will not be permitted in these states which are likely to become surplus in the long run.

However, in order to exploit lime-stone deposits occurring in very small pockets in these states which can sustain only mini cement plants, such plants of capacities ranging from 50 to 100 tonnes per day capacity based on Vertical Shaft Kiln Technology (VSK) will be allowed in these states provided the state governments furnish a certificate to the effect that limestone deposits are too scattered so that only mini-cement plants of such sizes could be set up and not large-sized plants. Such applications will be considered on a very restricted basis for registration with the DGTD.

The policy of the government to encourage establishment of mini-cement plants has been announced through the press note of January 4, 1979 and later through the press note of July 3, 1981. In the press note of January 1979 a number of incentives including freedom from distribution and grant of excise duties to mini-cement plants were announced.

In the press note of July 3, 1981, it was spelt out that mini cement plants will be encouraged to exploit scattered pockets of limestone deposits where only mini-cement plants can be set up and not large sized

cement plants. With the introduction of the scheme of partial decontrol, mini cement plants were exempted from distribution and price control.

HUMOUR IN INDIAN ENGLISH PLAYS

Dr. S. KRISHNA BHATTA

Humour, as an essential ingredient of human life, has a place of its own in our world. In effectively expressing thought-provoking idea and in easing the tension of a situation, it is really a boon to a writer or a conversationalist. Literature, which is the mirror of life, fully reflects the splendour of this important element. This fact can be observed even in Indian Drama in English (or Indian English plays) though the field is rather poor-both in quality and quantity--when compared to poetry and fiction.

In Indian English Drama, we come across

a few major playwrights like Sri Aurobindo, Kailasam, Harindranth Chattopadhyaya, Bharati Sarabhai and Asif Currimbhoy and a host of minor playwrights. It is difficult to find humour in dramatists like Sri Aurobindo, Chattopadhyay and Currimbhoy as they exhibit their seriousmindedness in their works. Even Kailasam, who like Shaw, is known for his ready wit and subtle humor in his Kannada plays, shows seriousness throughout in his English plays. An attempt is now made to highlight the element of humour found in some of the playwrights in the field.

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Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, though essentially a poet, has, to his credit, a number of plays—social and hagiological. In his playlet *The SENTRY'S LANTERN*, three persons are going to be hanged—a merchant, a bourgeois poet and a worker. At that time, each of them expresses his own feelings and thoughts. The pragmatic worker appears to be the mouthpiece of the progressive playwright. Correcting the poet who soars high in sky of imagination, he remarks : (The poet) should be born as something more honest than a comfortable bourgeois poet..., at least as an earthen pot in a worker's kitchen which will be of some service....”1.

Giving some relief to the audience in a play with a serious theme might be the intention of Bharati Sarabhai. In her play *Two women*, the sharp-tongued Sudha is described as ‘a convent-product of Anglo-India painted all over her’ further, seeing her dressed in slacks Shastriji puts a humorous question to Kanakaraya: “Diwan Sahab, can you tell me the unique function of this substitute for a sari ?”3

Evocation of laughter seems to be the main intention of some playwrights; and they can create fun among the audience though not thought-provoking humour. V. V. Srinivasa Aiyangar's farces belong to this category: To illustrate, his playlet *Vichu's Wife* gives us a description of an ideal wife:

Well--She must not be under sixteen.....
 She must be tall.....
 She must have bright and loving
 eyes.....
 She must be very handsome....a sort
 of Greek beauty.....
 She must be a painter and a poet.....
 She must be highly cultured, soft,
 tender, and delicate in

manners, with high ideals
 noble...great....4

A. S. P. Ayyar's humorous way of provoking serious thought in the audience reminds us of playwrights like Shaw and Kailasam. Here are some sequences from his mock-trial *The Trial of Science for the Murder of Humanity*: Science the Accused is tried before a Full Bench of three judges, namely, Philosophy, Culture and Intuition on many charges including that of threatening the life of entire humanity by 2000 A. D. Some of the examples of humor are: the expert's examination of the ‘unsound mind’ of the Juror Research, the reading from an almanac forecasting the destruction of Humanity by 2000 A. D.: and also witty exchanges of words as follows:

Defence Counsel (about God): Nothing we cannot see exists.

Religion: So, since I cannot see your brains sir, may I take it that you have none ?5

Next, Electricity deposes that, with the help of Science, corpses can be preserved for 30 to 40 years; then

Public prosecutor: What good is it keeping corpses for 30 years? Is it not better to bury or burn them and be finished with them?

Electricity: Corpses like yours, of course, had better be disposed of at once.6

Sarcastic talk also can create humour. In his play *Larins Sahib* Gurcharan Das deals with the political career of a British Resident in Punjab whose self-respect and faith in the principle of natural justice gradually gives

place to his madness for power and glory finally leading to his downfall. Here is an occasion for us to enjoy the Indian style of dialogue :

Lawrence : 'Fear is only human', said the jackal.

Rani : 'But the brave are not afraid', said the lion.

Lawrence : 'Even the brave are afraid of beautiful women', said the fox.⁷

The play *He Never Slept So Long* by Shivkumar Joshi is a good example of interpretation of a myth from a contemporary angle of view. The playwright extends the myth of *The Bhagavate* so as to include the political career of Gandhiji and imagines one more incarnation for Jaya and Vijaya who assassinate Gandhiji. The People's Court holds a posthumous trial of the Mahatma with Mahakal as the Judge. When Martin Luther a staunch supporter of the Mahatma is examined as a witness, he says "non-violence is a desperate battle". Unable to comprehend his speech, someone from the crowd shouts, "Hey, he wants a battle : Why not oblige him ? This remark brings some relief to the tense atmosphere.

There is a humorous situation even in a tragedy like Borgaonkar's *Bhasmasura*. Interpreting the Indian myth of *Bhasmasura*, the playwright tries to expose the dehumanising effect of Science on man. Actively engaged in inventing a destructive weapon, Professor Buddhisagar gets highly excited at an accidental invention and starts shouting to his wife Shanti : "Eureka !...Eureka Greater than Newton, greater than Marconi, greater than Einstein, the world will salute you as the greatest among the scientists...⁹. Thinking

that he has gone mad, Shanti calls for help of her daughter and son-in-law.

Partap Sharma portrays the life in a brothel of Bombay in his play *A Touch of Brightness*. Rukmini, a beggar-girl becomes a victim of the brothel-keeper, and because of her idealism, she behaves there in a peculiar way. It is no wonder that she becomes a target of attack by her co-inhabitants Basanti and others; and, as Basanti remarks, "The boy who loves her, she turns into a brother, and the man who wants to marry her, she keeps as a lover".¹⁰

Hypocrisy in our society is exposed in the play *Deep Roots* by Murli Das Melwani. There we can find some witty conversations, and to illustrate, here is a prayer to God by some friends :

Ahmed : O Lord of the world, whose Name may be Money—

Arvind : Increase the natural resources of this country—

Ahmed : So that we may have more stones to break heads.

Arvind : and wreck public property.

Ahmed : Bless our creative faculties—

Arvind : So that we may think up new hypocrisies and lies, and the Government new stupid laws and taxes, and people's means how to evade them—

Ahmed : and ways and means to cheat everyone around us—¹¹

These are their demands, and surely God must be a double hypocrite to grant them.

P. S. Vasudev's mini-play *The Forbidden Fruit* is a farce highlighting the red-tapism in official machinery even in urgent matters

like the family planning programme. A Gramsevak seeks urgent help from the Central Govt. to take precautions about the local lovers because, according to his report, "the Love-God has gone on the war path"¹² : but an Officer replies that he will hear from them 'in due course'. Twenty years later, a man and a woman (both doctors attached to the Ministry of Health) go to the village : but, influenced by Nature there, they too forget to do their duty. (Here the playwright extends the myth of Adam and Eve, and makes the forbidden fruit the symbol of sexual passion).

These are some of the examples offered to the audience by Indian English playwrights. In a complicated world like ours, the only gift of Nature that can sustain us is humour, and humour alone.

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GOALLESS EDUCATION : NEED FOR REORGANISATION

Dr. B. R. S. GUPTA

The root of our educational problem is that our education lacks a goal. The prime purpose of general education should be to promote the idea of what one could apply constructively and not stuff young minds with obsolete knowledge which has no relevance to their aspirations. Patriotism and values of good citizenship should be inculcated among the young but it is a moot question whether education should remain a mere tool for propaganda to promote patriotism, since blind love even for one's country has its negative aspects. The main purpose of education should be to enable the young to think and to gain knowledge. Socrates spelt out the right approach by pointing out that 'virtue is knowledge'. It is, therefore, not an unhappy development even if what one has learnt in school or college is not always applicable to one's daily work. There should be enough satisfaction if education helps one to understand the values of life as well as to widen one's mental horizon. L.K. Jha, Chairman of the Economic Administrative Reforms Commission, has rightly deplored the waste in our educational system. The wastage from the primary stage to the post-graduate level is the outcome of wrong policies and wrong priorities established from time to time. Excessive experimentation also contributes to this sad state of affairs. Though India claims to have the third largest scientific and technical manpower in the world, it also has the largest number of illiterates while the rate of drop-outs at the primary level continues to be high in several states. Education becomes a futile exercise when it has little

relevance to the job ultimately taken up. Another form of wastage arises when a large number of educated women are confined to household work after marriage. Tradition and orthodoxy still stand in the way of women's liberation even if they happen to be educated.

A serious defect of present day education, however, is its poor quality. Very little education is imparted in schools and colleges and even those who secure degrees do not attain adequate knowledge. *The emphasis must shift to learning.*

L. K. Jha points to only one aspect of the sad story when he says that instead of evolving a new culture, 'many of the students cling to the cult of comics and jeans, disco dancing and drugs, while others become camp followers of frustrated politicians. The ill-effects of politicians' interference in education are being increasingly felt in most institutions. When Vice-chancellors, Principals and teachers unabashedly seek the shelter of politicians, how can students be blamed if they become budding politicians? The basic aim of education should be to create a well-balanced integrated personality with intellectual development along with development of the body. At present there is also an urgent need to reorganise education in India and make it more progressive. Today, we hear of student indiscipline and juvenile delinquency. Here teachers have a special role to play because their effect on some students may linger, for many years to come.

At the present moment, there is a great need for synchronising developments from the primary to college level, so that education can be systematically promoted. A variety of alternate learning strategies could be structured by the teachers, taking into consideration the variables in operation in a particular institution. During the school years, effort should be made to increase fluency, flexibility and originality. Needless to add, the present-day examination system has failed to serve its purpose. During the school years, students should plan and execute projects of a productive nature and also bring themselves closer to social realities like social evils, civic sense, hygiene etc. Naturally the question arises can the present day examination be taken as a yard stick of measuring merit ? At present even 90% marks are not enough and students are known to get 95% in various subjects. Only a decade back 60% (which is first division) used to be the optimum. But now-a-days students are known to get 95%. Examination techniques are used to pass students at examinations. A brilliant student who attempts to study the complete course is generally at a disadvantage. Attempts to do away with the choice of answerable questions might provoke the temper of the student community, although there is no doubt about the necessity of reducing the choice offered. This problem can be tackled by continual evaluation from the primary level which will go a long way in preparing the student for the future. This continual evaluation should consist of at least three or four examinations a year, spread over equal intervals giving the student respite and at the same time keeping his nose not too far from the grinding stone.

Needless to add, education must not aim at making the students endeavour for useless

degrees. It is unfortunate that the present educational system is geared to prepare students for traditional jobs. In the present educational set-up there is no relevance and co-ordination between persons getting the education and social needs. It should be mentioned that a slight change has been introduced to prepare students with a technical bent of mind. Today, almost all the branches of technical education have been introduced in the form of engineering and technology, agriculture, home science, commerce and business, health and miscellaneous

At present there is keen competition in every branch of knowledge, whether it is commerce, science or any other branch of knowledge. However there is no co-ordination between the jobs people take up, and the subjects they have studied. Self-sufficient vocational courses should be introduced which develop skills at a tender age and serve a life-time for the competent individual. Some states have already started vocational courses and a survey conducted recently depicts that 50% of the vocational students are employed either in factories or self-employed. If found necessary, the syllabus of vocational education may be revamped to suit the needs of a particular trade ; or some training be given in industries for the apprentice course first, and then absorb them later. This would end the rush for seats in polytechnics. The employment question also would be solved to some extent. The 'Engineer MBA' is a confused man today for he does not know which vocation suits him best, with the result that he is invariably frustrated in his job which affects his performance. If the business schools want to send out managers who are promising, a considerable amount of searching is required. The MBA graduate, for instance,

should be properly oriented, not only in theory but in practice as well.

Article 45 of the Constitution seeks to provide free and compulsory education to all children up to the age of 14. But all that has been done is to collect statistics which have often been taken or fabricated. In fact, it is still not known as to how many children have been attending school.

IMPORTANT AND PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS :

*1-There is need for qualitative monitoring in various aspects such as academic, administrative, financial and physical. Monitoring means the collection of information on a regular basis with a view to diagnosing the short falls as well as strengthen the policy makers for providing underlying feedback for correcting the situation and improving it. In fact, regular outflow of information is the crux of the matter. The educational programmes should be such that evaluation should be done on a continual basis, and a prompt introduction of remedial measures taken after weaknesses have been diagnosed. This monitoring and evaluation will have to be comprehensive and cover all elements-academic, administrative, financial and physical.

2-EDUCATION MUST BE PRODUCTIVE :

The universities authorities should shed their conservatism and find ways to eliminate the bane of mass higher education. The universities must contribute to national prosperity instead of getting-bogged down in research without any practical value or worthwhile consequences to the nation. What is the use of the Indian universities only creating pools of qualified people who in no way help the country but become prosperous

later by going abroad to make money,?

3-A strict limit on admissions in the universities and colleges, must be imposed.

4-Restructuring of the courses to make them innovative and job-oriented ;

5-Pursuit of excellence should be the goal of education. (There is need of firm action to put down campus violence.)

6-A definite limit must be placed on the duration of the students stay in the Hostels as there is a tendency to overstay which only deprives freshers from hostel accommodation.

7-Merit should be the criterion for admissions and the Central universities could think in terms of a suitable entrance examination.

8-Students unions, instead of taking up genuine academic courses preoccupy themselves with populist and peripheral issues. Some forms of agitations should be banned eg Gheraos, and campus violence must be firmly dealt with.

9-Non-payment of salary for strike period may be attempted.

10-Effective machinery to deal with the problems of students and staff members should be established.

11-Courts should base their judgements on the realities of the universities situation when they handle cases relating to disciplinary-matters. In such matters the court's intervention should be as sparing and as sensitive to the interests of the institution as possible.

12-Grievances connected with the terms and conditions of service which cannot be tackled at individual university levels, should be handled through a new body-eg *A Council of Central Universities.*

13-A regular merit promotion scheme to revise pay-scale of teachers and related matters should be devised.

14-Representation of meritorious students in Academic councils should be done. *****

Current Affairs

SOVIET PEACE POLICIES ARE INVARIABLE

On the eve of the 60th Anniversary of the U S S R Novosti Rome Correspondent G. Ptashinski's interview of Nino Pasti, prominent Italian public figure and peace champion.

I would advise those interested in the sources of the Soviet foreign policy to read carefully the statement made by the Soviet delegation at the first plenary meeting of the Genoa Conference on April 10, 1922. To my mind, this is one of the most important and informative documents concerned with the foreign policy pursued by the Soviet state. It is, indeed, so important because it was worked out by Vladimir Lenin himself. I would like to emphasize that as soon as the land of Soviets got to attend its first international conference of representatives of states with different socio-political systems, it advanced three major principles of its foreign policy: peaceful co-existence, arms reduction, mutually beneficial economic co-operation between East and West.

Before world war 2 the Soviet Union had attempted more than once to come to an agreement with France and Great Britain to prevent a war. Sadly, those efforts were futile. Those who doubt it or have just forgotten it may check it up with the memoirs of Winston Churchill, a quite authoritative reference material in the West....

The Soviet people had to bear most of the burden of the Second world war.

In the post-war period the USA went out of its way to retain the monopoly on the

a-bomb advancing the development of this mass destruction weapon, while the Soviet Union proposed a programme for banning and eliminating nuclear weapons. Now the question is who is to blame for the arms race?...

As far as our time is concerned, I took a great interest in reading the speech by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Yuri Andropov at the November plenary meeting. I welcomed his statement to the effect that to ensure a lasting peace remains the invariable goal of the Soviet foreign policy. Indicatively, on the same day President Reagan of the United States informed Congress of his decision to have a hundred MX missiles deployed in one of the American states....

It is common knowledge that in the post-war period the Soviet Union has advanced over a hundred peace initiatives aimed at the relaxation of international tensions. I would like to point out two such initiatives which I deem most important: a proposal to freeze the nuclear arsenals of both sides and the Soviet pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. As I see them, these proposals are of tremendous importance for preventing a nuclear war.

The Soviet pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons has again exposed the aggressiveness of the foreign policy pursued by the Washington administration openly advocating a pre-emptive nuclear strike. This concept is justified by claims that allegedly the Warsaw pact has more conventional weapons in Europe than NATO has. As a

person who has dealt with NATO documents I maintain that this is not true. The above claims are supposed only to justify the arms race and the whipping up of tensions in international relations....

Three years ago NATO decided to have new American medium-range nuclear missiles deployed in western Europe, allegedly to strengthen the latter's security. The West Europeans weren't told, however, how dangerous those missiles were for them. As a military expert acquainted with the new weapon I can say with certainty that cruise missiles are a kind of weapon destabilising the existing balance of forces on the continent. Moreover, if they are deployed, it may trigger an unrestricted arms race. Ostensibly, this is what some quarters in the USA and NATO want to happen. Fortunately, there are enough sober-minded people in the United States. Together with the European peace movement they oppose the adventurist policy pursued by their current administration which is prepared to put the lives of millions of people at stake to attain military superiority.

On November 27 the peace march has been started in Milano. It will run across Italy to end on December 25 with a mass rally in Comiso where the medium-range missiles are supposed to be deployed. The National Coordinating Committee of the Peace Movement whose chairman I am has supported this important initiative advanced by a group of scientists and cultural workers of Lombardy. We hope we can rally Italy's public opinion against the deployment of new nuclear missiles in our country. This year a million signatures have been collected in Sicily against the construction of a military base in Comiso. As a matter of fact, it was not enough to convince the Italian Government to refuse to do what it

said it would. So the Italian peace champions will continue to campaign until the dangerous plans are given up.

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YOU CANNOT HIDE THE TRUTH BEHIND BARS

The news of the arrest of Abdul Gafar-khan, 92, a prominent Pushtu leader, was received with alarm by the Soviet people, who know him as an active participant in the liberation movement on the South Asian subcontinent.

Abdul Gafar-Khan was only three years old when the British colonialists sliced off part of Afghanistan's territory and divided the Pushtu tribes by the so-called Durand line. As a result, part of the tribes found themselves in British India. In 1912 Abdul Gafar-Khan got involved in socio-political activities and devoted his entire life to the struggle for the national self-determination of the Pushtus. A loyal son of his people Abdul Gafar-Khan hailed the complete restoration of Afghanistan's independence in 1919, proclaimed by Emir Amanullah-Khan, the anti-imperialist trend of his policy and the progressive nature of the reforms he carried out and protested against Britain's interference in the domestic affairs of Afghanistan. The British colonialists repeatedly subjected him to repressions, but could not break the Pushtu leader's will.

What has Abdul Gafar-Khan done now to be thrown into prison at such an advanced age? His statement that the so-called Afghan "freedom fighters" entrenched in Pakistan are nothing but mercenaries was considered as a terrible crime by the Zia-Ul-Haq regime. Neither the correctness of these

words, nor the Prestige and advanced age of the man who said they were able to stop the Pakistani authorities, for whom concealing the truth about the Afghan counter-revolutionaries entrenched in Pakistan counts most. Indeed, it is by encouraging their activities that the Zia-Ul-Haq regime won Washington's patting, money and arms.

Being well informed about the situation in areas near the Afghan-Pakistani border, Abdul Gafar-Khan exposed the true face of the Afghan rebels who are ready to kill peaceful people for the sake of money. The bandits who are trained in special camps commit atrocities on the territory of Pakistan too. They killed Mussa Kheil Macgal, a prominent Pushtu leader, and Mullah Mohammed, a Pushtu religious worker. "The bandits are the common enemy of the Pushtu tribes," said the Pushtu leaders and chief at a Jirgah held in connection with these acts of terrorism. They demanded that the Pakistani authorities evict the counter-revolutionary gangs from the areas inhabited by Pushtu tribes and liquidate their camps.

The imprisonment of Abdul Gafar-Khan is an attempt to deal a blow at all the Pushtu tribes living in the North-western Frontier province of Pakistan, who are strongly dissatisfied with the actions of the Afghan counter-revolutionaries.

The imprisonment of Abdul Gafar-Khan cannot stifle the voice of the truth. He is a man who has staunchly and courageously struggled for it throughout his life. He remained true to it to this day, for he knows that it is impossible to keep the truth behind prison bars.

—A P N
9.11.82

ACHARYA VINOBA BHAVA

J. N. C. writes :

Acharya Vinoba Bhave, The Sarvodaya leader and the father and architect of the Bhoodan movement, passed away on the 15th instant at 9-30 a. m. The end came at his Paramdham Ashram, Paunar, in Madhya Pradesh. He had a heart attack on November 5, and refused to take anything whatsoever—food, water or medicine—from 8 p. m. on November 8, till his expiry.

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi described Acharya Bhave as the "spiritual heir" of Mahatma Gandhi and she said further that he "was in the long line of our sages". Mahatma Gandhi had once said of him as "one of the few pearls in the (Sabarmati) Ashram." The Acharya was a staunch devotee of our ancient scriptures and has sometimes been described as "the spirit of India," his religious outlook, at the same time, having been always liberal and catholic.

He was born in a Brahmin family of Gacoda in the Baroda State (now in Maharashtra) on September 11, 1895. His father was Narahari Shamburao Bhave who was a textile technologist and his mother was Rukmini Deva a devout lady. It is in all likelihood that the life of Vinayak Narahari, as Vinoba Bhave had been called in his childhood, was influenced more by the example of his pious and devoted mother than by his technologist—father.

His early education was in Baroda, where he made his mark as a meritorious student. But while he was in the intermediate class, he gave up his studies, burnt his school certificates, protesting against the modern system of education, and went to Banaras to study Sanskrit and Indian philosophy. He suffered extreme hardship there; but went on with his studies. It was in this place that he was

attracted to Gandhiji and, after necessary correspondence, he joined the Sabarmati Ashram. Gandhiji gave him the new name—'Vinoba'.

In spite of his frail body Vinoba worked with great enthusiasm and sincerity, and Gandhiji felt that he had found a true disciple, a self-less worker, who could stake all for the sake of his motherland, and the good of his countrymen. In 1919, he was sent to preach non-violence to a mob at Ahmadabad who had been demonstrating against the Rowlatt Bill. When Gandhiji himself left his Sabarmati Ashram to lead the agitation against the above Bill, Vinoba was placed in charge of it, and so well did the latter manage that in 1921, he was placed in charge of Gandhiji's newly founded Ashram at Wardha, where he moved in April that year.

In 1923, he joined 'Satyagraha' in Nagpur and, in consequence, suffered imprisonment for six months.

He took part also in Satyagraha in Kerala in connection with the entry of Harijans in the Vaikom temple. He was sent to jail on several occasions during the freedom movement. In 1940, he led a satyagraha movement and, in 1942, he took part in the 'Quit India' movement and for both these, he suffered imprisonment.

His 'Bhoodan Yagna' was started in 1951 in the Telengana area of the then Hyderabad State. He found there cries of hunger for land and to redress the miserable condition of the people, he appealed to landowners of Telengana for donation of their excess lands. His appeal had its effect and during his fifty one days' tour in that part of the country, covering two hundred villages, he got 12,200 acres of land for distribution among the landless people. It was a wonderful feat that in thirteen years he could go round all the states of India on foot, covering about

40,000 miles, in quest of land for distribution among the needy. About forty-five lakh acres of land, in all, were received for distribution, the greater part having been received from Bihar. He was really a friend of the poor.

It was also really a wonder that in the course of his long tour he could persuade twenty notorious dacoits of Madhya Pradesh to surrender.

He had moved to Paunar in 1938 and established his Paramdham Ashram on the bank of river Dham. He was a linguist, too, having learnt Marathi, Gujarati, Bengali, Hindi, Sanskrit, Kanarese, Malayalam, Tamil, Telugu, Arabic, English, French, and German. A life-long bachelor and a man of rare character, he had no hankering for money, power or influence and dedicated his life solely in the interests of our country. Several dignitaries including Prime Minister Mrs Gandhi visited him at times and sought his advice on matters of great national importance.

In 1964, when Pope Paul VI came to India, he brought a gold medal for him, but as the Acharya was unable to take it in person, it was given to Lal Bahadur Shastri with the request to send it to him.

The demise of such a distinguished person, though at a ripe old age, is a distinct loss to our country and creates a void which will be very difficult to fill up.

May his soul rest in eternal peace and happiness.

Indian Messenger—November 21, 1982

HAD ASSAH

Janet Mendelsohn Writes:-

Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, is the largest volunteer

women's organization in the States. Established in 1912 by Henrietta Szold (1860-1945) Hadassah's first adherents were eager to "promote Jewish institutions and enterprises in Palestine" as well as foster Jewish ideals. Sixty-six years later, 360,000 women from every state and Puerto Rico still adhere to the same goals.

Returning from a trip to Palestine in 1909 Henrietta Szold, a selfless educator and social worker, reported on the medical conditions which she had found in Israel. According to this influential leader, proper food was non-existent for the fledgling Jewish population—Jerusalem streets overflowed with sewage, disease was rampant, and four out of every ten babies never celebrated their first birthdays.

Immediately two nurses were dispatched to Palestine by the new organization, and within a year after Hadassah's formation, its first medical clinic was opened. Overcoming mistrust and suspicion as well as fighting to institute educational and social change, the nurses managed to treat 5,000 patients in their first year in Jerusalem.

Malnutrition and Disease

APPEALS for financial assistance were wide-spread in the U.S., but the money raised never quite covered the enormous bills that health care in Palestine required. Yet it is hard to list the accomplishments of this Women's Organization of America. Despite dissolving bank accounts, Hadassah saw to it that Jerusalem babies were delivered wholesome milk, whether by tin can or donkey back. Even while Hadassah's doctors and nurses' salaries were unseen for months, these workers struggled to put a halt to the malnutrition as well as the common sight-related diseases that ran rampant throughout the Middle East.

Hadassah is not a synonym for hospital.

As youth became one of the prime concerns of Miss Szold, she helped found in 1933 the rescue and rehabilitation movement that has helped to save over 155,000 children from either spiritual or physical threat. Youth Aliyah saved German children from the clutches of the Nazis and helped North African children come to Israel. Today refugees from the Soviet Union as well as disadvantaged Israeli youth benefit from Youth Aliyah educational facilities.

—News From Israel

—November 82

RESEARCH AND HUMAN NEEDS

Professor, J.M. Legay. Writes in WFSW Science Policy Notes (1)

The excellent report prepared by Professor Teodorescu should provide a basis for the Committee's discussion and the preparation of a *position paper* by our Federation in a field of prime importance for national and international policies.

My contribution to the debate is a complementary Note to the report of the Chairman of the Committee. It touches on three questions; *needs and their satisfaction, some questions, the responsibilities.*

The needs and their satisfaction

Whilst it is clear, it is still necessary to insist that, beyond the elementary needs, which are no more than the expression of biological necessities, all the other needs are the *creations of society* and involve choices made by society on each project for development. For example, advertising is not neutral.

It would be as well to raise certain ambiguities in the human spirit and to propose an analysis of *needs and their satisfaction by consumption* (of products, but also of place and of time) and lastly of the organisation

of production and sale : these ought to provide the means for the satisfaction of needs, but in fact change them or go as far as create them artificially....

The individual variability of consumption is shown to be very strong both in the gamut of satisfied needs and for the same need in a method of qualitative and quantitative satisfaction. For example, in the field of energy the diversity of consumption between individuals has considerably increased. Thus not only do needs differ according to times and places, but in the same place and in the same period, needs and even more their satisfaction prove not to be homogenous : here also we find a concrete expression of economic and social inequality.

SOME QUESTIONS

As a consequence questions are permissible and the role of scientific workers is also to take a critical stance in this field.

—*in the definition of needs* : for some of them appear to raise false questions often tied to the hypothesis of a single model of development. Is there any need to accept a single model? And even if one assumed the model of the industrialised countries, said to be developed, is this faultless? There will be much to say also on the hierarchy of questions posed. Are not some of those given top placing really of secondary urgency? Is there not a temptation to give first and urgent attention to the solution of the problems thought to be the simplest? Finally, are not some problems misplaced? "To produce strawberries for Christmas" in the developed countries of Northern Europe (a minor objective in itself) could have been a scientific and technical incentive in the 19th century : it is that no longer : the method is now known : the question has become "should we do it?" There are many questions which

were scientific or technical and which have become economic, social or political.

—*in the satisfaction of needs and in their consequences* there are multiple questions posed. Here again scientific workers seek to respond to certain needs but do not know how their findings will be used. For example "to have children of different sexes" is a hope which will soon be technically feasible. But what in fact will happen? Will imbalances not appear at certain times? What consequences can be expected for the structure of families and in their functioning? What regulations will anyone be able to impose?

In quite another field, that of energy needs, we can ask at the same time how they can be met on the technical level, on the social level, what consequences this growth in energy consumption may have on the environment. There are therefore fields for study which are widely different but not independent and in which research by all the sciences, including the social sciences, should be developed.

Lastly it would be useful to stress that the difficulty (and perhaps the ambiguity) of the discussions on the definition and the satisfaction of needs arises from their interaction on each other. The individual car only becomes a necessity if public transport is badly planned and does not meet the needs, or if there is a clash between the objectives of public transport systems and social requirements : as scientific workers, concerned about the uses of science and technology, we should be aware of the risk that social requirements will be shaped on the *a Priori* objectives of public transport instead of these objectives being themselves a response to social requirements.

THE RESPONSIBILITIES

We are, quite naturally, led to examine

the question of what the responsibilities of scientists should be in this field. It would seem that they can be exercised :

1. In the analysis of needs, which an important intake from the human sciences through inquiry at all levels of expression into needs (individual, family, various groups, enterprises, etc), with a concern to identify the variety of needs and their variability.

2. In research into methods which are locally the least costly (in energy, in labour, etc) or more precisely of offering the means for their satisfaction, while not forgetting the right to differences in the determination of needs, and also in their satisfaction.

3. In satisfaction properly so-called, (that is consumption, by bringing research to bear on the behavioural conduct of people faced with problems (for example by studying the relations between dietary practices and nutritional needs, or between medical practices and health needs, etc,))

4. In medium-term and long-term forecasting of the qualitative and quantitative evolution of needs, the evolution of the means acquired for their satisfaction, and lastly that of the consequences of the use of these means. The energy aspect of human activity is a good example.

Thus in conclusion, we can assert that scientific and technical research (in a broad sense) will necessarily make a decisive contribution to the determination and to the satisfaction of human needs. But it is in large measure up to scientific workers to see that this contribution is rational, efficient and that it will not compromise the future.

A. S. W. I.
November 1982

ON DOWRY

Dr. Jogindra Nath Chowdhuri writes

"It gives us immense pleasure to learn from the 'Jugantar,' the Bengali-daily-newspaper, of the last 22nd November that recently more than one hundred young men of Jammu-Kashmir, belonging to the Congress, married without taking any dowry, and more than two hundred young men who are going to be married, took oaths not to take any dowry.

Announcing the above information, Sri Jaspal Khajuria, the President of the Jammu-Kashmir Yuva Congress, said that the members of that Congress are going to start a crusade against dowry.

Any demand of dowry at the time of a marriage is undoubtedly unfair and should always be considered as such. To many, it is like a nightmare, but those who derive advantage out of it, do not consider it so and favour its continuance as long as possible. I know even of some cases where the parents were compelled to give dowries at the time of their daughters' marriages, but did not take any dowry at the time of their sons' marriages. Of course, such cases are very rare. We should reasonably expect that there should not be any question of dowry, whether it be in the case of the marriage of a daughter or of a son.

Mahatma Gandhi said, "Any young man who makes dowry a condition to marriage, discredits his education and his country and dishonours womanhood." Addressing the parents of young men, he said, "Marriage must cease to be a matter of arrangement made by parents for money."

In Jaffna (Ceylon), at Ramanathan Girls' College, addressing the girls, he said, "Here, I understand that there is the hateful system of dowry, whereby it becomes most difficult for young women to get suitable matches.

The grown-up girls—some of you are grown-up—are expected to resist all such temptations. If you will resist these evil customs, some of you will have to begin by remaining maidens either for life, or at least for a number of years. Then, when it is time for you to marry, and you feel that you must have a partner in life, you will not be in thirst of one who has money or fame, or beauty of person, but you will be in search of one—even as Parvati was—who has got all the matchless qualities which go to make good character. You know how Naradjee described Siva to Parvati—a mere pauper smeared with ashes, no handsomeness about him and a Brahmachari, and Parvati said 'Yes, he will be my husband.' Gandhiji said further, "Every girl, every Indian girl, is not born to marry. I can show many girls who are to-day dedicating themselves to service, instead of serving one man."

From newspapers we learn, that serious trouble also occur out of the dowry system. Sometimes, marriage-negotiations which might have otherwise ended smoothly, come to a stand-still or break solely because of the inability of the bride's guardian to meet the demands of the other party. It also happens and, not infrequently, that after marriage fresh demands are put forward to the bride's guardian either for more money, or more in kind. In case of non-compliance of such a demand the newly-married wife is at times reported to be maltreated or tortured in such a way that it causes her death or compels her to commit suicide.

Public attention was very seriously drawn to the custom of dowry by a tragic occurrence which happened in 1914. That year, a Bengali girl, Snehadata, burnt herself to death when she came to know that her father had to mortgage his house to meet the demands of dowry and expenses of her

marriage. People were shocked to hear this heart-rending news and the custom of dowry was denounced at various conferences. Young men, forming societies, took oaths not to take dowries and to restrict marriage-expenses. But such an anti-dowry movement did not last long, and more than six decades passed, but this evil system is still continuing in spite of the Dowry Prohibition Act of 1961. To enforce or to implement such an act is also very difficult. The transactions relating to dowry are done privately between two parties, one of which is very anxious for the marriage of a daughter. In the interest of the daughter, her guardian does not like to disclose anything in this matter lest some untoward happenings disturb his daughter's future.

Enactment alone is not sufficient to root out such a long-standing social evil. Public thinking requires a change, and this can be done only by persistent efforts by some sincere, honest and self-sacrificing men bent on doing real good to society. They must impress people on how this custom has been doing incalculable mischief to society. We know that the inhuman custom of Sati or of burning widows alive along with their dead husbands was not eradicated by the anti-sati Regulation of Lord William Bentinck alone but that the persistent and untiring endeavours of Rammohun Roy were mainly instrumental in arousing the conscience of the people in helping the honest intentions of the Governor-General. Similarly, the removal of the custom of dowry depends primarily on the good-will and sympathetic outlook of the people. The earlier the people are convinced of its evil effect, the better. Let our young men, be more conscious and active in this matter and let all of them be resolute in performing their marriages without dowry. Since it is a bad custom, they should be against it with

determination and should not desist from this aim till they attain success.

Before the Hindu Succession Act of 1956 Hindu women suffered in the absence of a proper Law of Inheritance. By the above Act, provisions were made providing rights of Inheritance for women "who are Hindus by religion in any of its forms or developments, including a Virshnaiva, a Lingayat, or a follower of the Brahmo, Prarthana or Arya Samaj," and those who are Buddhists, Jains or Sikhs by religion.

Those who consider the system of dowry as a future provision for women should, under no circumstances, overlook the above Hindu Succession Act with its amendments and be reasonable and sympathetic in their outlook.

The present Dowry Prohibition Act, has some loopholes in it. Steps have to be taken to remedy them, so that, no man, violating any provision of the Act, may escape unpunished.

—The Indian Messenger
December 11. 2. 82.

HOW WORK IN THE AGRO-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEXES IS ORGANISED

Agriculture in the People's Republic of Bulgaria is organized in 282 agro-industrial, 8 research and production, 4 viticultural, 10 livestock breeding and 2 industrial-agricultural complexes, 12 state seed production farms and one training and experimental farm,

The agro-industrial complexes are large-scale agricultural organizations. Every complex covers an average of 14,000 hectares of arable land, hundred of tractors and trucks, manpower etc. Their basic activity is agricultural production—plant growing and livestock. In addition they are developing

transport, sales, supply, repair and maintenance, processing etc.

For the proper organization of production, labour and management, intraenterprise labour organization has been introduced in every agro-industrial complex. The basic production unit is the team. The agro-industrial complexes contain a total of 12,646 teams organized in such activities as grain and fodder, viticulture, fruit-growing, vegetable-growing, cattle-breeding, vegetable-growing. Every plantgrowing team has land which it retains for a long period of time (not less than 5 or 6 years, basic means of production machinery, equipment, technology, and a standing manpower team. Livestock-breeding teams have assigned to them buildings, installations, animals, equipment and manpower. The teams organize their production activities independently. For example, the plant-growing team raises crops on its own territory, undertaking all agrotechnical measures, from preparing the soil from sowing to harvesting.

The teams work under the direction of the agro-industrial complex. They are given plans setting out their tasks in production, and the raw and prime materials necessary for their activities and their wages fund. In carrying out their activities they interact with other teams in the same complex. For example the stock-breeding teams receive fodder for their animals from the crop-growing teams, and they help each other with manpower when one of them has no work. The complex's motor transport is usually directly under the management and is used by all teams.

The wages are so organized that payment is determined by the end results. A team with higher output and lower material and labour outlay receives higher remuneration and vice-versa. This creates a material

incentive for the work forces of the team to use the land, the prime and raw materials—fertilizers, preparations, fodder, machines and the cooperative workers labour provided as sensibly as possible.

Labour organization is altered and improved in accordance with the changes in the organization of production and mainly depending on the technological level of labour. In the first years after the formation of the cooperative and state farms in the country, teams with small areas of land and large number of farmers and workers were set up. The increasing number of machines and the growing level of mechanization of the processes required that the teams gradually increase the area of arable land with a view to the more rational use of technology and the labour of the cooperative farmer engaged in production.

The agro-industrial complexes have equipped themselves with new, highly-productive technology—mainly tractors and combine harvesters. This demanded a rapid improvement in labour organization to meet up to the new requirements—increasing production and its efficiency,

It was considered that in agricultural organizations, teams of optimum dimensions should be formed so as to ensure :

—rational utilization of the soil through scientifically-based intensive crop rotation, keeping to the requirements for the cultivation of crops ;

—the maximum use of technology through its use to specific schedules and increasing shift-work ;

—the application of new methods in crop and livestock raising to achieve lower outlays of prime and raw materials and labour per unit for output ;

—greater independence in production for the enterprise to ensure a greater involvement of the work forces in the problems of organizing production ;

—fuller solution of the social welfare questions of the work forces,

The aim was on this basis to increase output and quality, to lower expenses for the maintenance of, production in the long run, and to increase overall labour productivity.

For the implementation of these tasks, when a new team is formed, an engineering project reflecting the abovementioned points is elaborated. Let us take an example. The new team for grain and fodder production (its basic job) in the town of Pelovo, Pleven district, cultivates 6,765 hectares of land, 1,560 hectares of them under irrigation. In 1981 125 cooperative farmers, 47 of them technicians and machine operators, worked in it. They have 19 tractors, 11 combine harvesters and other agricultural technology at their disposal. The team cultivates wheat, barley, maize, sunflowers and sugar beet on the basis of well worked out crop rotation.

As early as 1981 in comparison to the previous period, the team secured : 1.6 times fuller use of technology, increasing the area of land cultivated by one tractor 1.54 times labour productivity, expressed in net output per person, double (the net output is established by deducting the material and cash expenditures from the cost of the volume of output) -

In the teams engineering project these indicators are envisaged to rise appreciably in 1985.

The results of the new team's performance in 1981 are good and show the good outlook of the experiment in Bulgarian agriculture,

—News From Bulgaria

12.12.82.

WHAT WILL THE USSR BUILD IN 1983 ?

Gleb Spiridonov, APN political analyst writes :

The Soviet construction programme of the outgoing year has come to an end. In 1982 large production capacities in all branches of the national economy were put into operation. The fuel energy complex made headway. A great leap forward was made by the gas industry which increased gas output by 35,000 million cubic metres as compared with the previous year. More than 10,000 kilometres of cross-country gas pipelines were laid. Many projects of the agro-industrial complex were put into operation. A large volume of housing, communal and cultural construction was carried out. During the outgoing year the country's production funds, according to economists' estimates, rose by 4.5 per cent. More than 200 new industrial enterprises were commissioned.

What will the USSR build in 1983 ? In conformity with the five-year plan the development of Siberia and the Far East will continue. The USSR's main fuel and energy base is situated there. The importance and priority of the development of this key branch is dictated not only by constantly growing internal demands for fuel and energy, but also by the export programme. The planned annual increment of energy resources to the value of about 41 million tons of equivalent fuel will ensure the smooth and rhythmical operation of all power grids of this country.

Large capacities for gas and oil extraction will be introduced in Western Siberia. The rapid development of pipelines will continue. In 1983 another 10,80 kilometres of cross-country gas pipelines will be put into operation. In the fourth quarter the construction

of transcontinental export-oriented Siberia-Western Europe pipeline will be completed. It is also envisaged to put into service 870 kilometres of petroleum product conduits.

The coal industry, which did not cope with the planned rates of development for a long time, will make rapid progress in the coming year. Mines and opencast collieries designed for about 20 million tons of annual output will be opened. The construction and modernization of coal opencast collieries will continue in the South Yakut, Kansk-Achinsk and other coal complexes.

The dynamic growth of the Soviet power industry will be preserved. In 1983 new power capacities of 12.3 million kilowatts will be commissioned. According to the data for 1979 this approximately corresponds to the installed capacity of all power stations of Belgium or almost two times exceeds Denmark's installed capacities. It is worth noting that 45 per cent of this increment will be given by nuclear power stations. The USSR's first power unit of 1,5 million kilowatts will be put into operation at the Ignalyna Nuclear Station and also 1,000,000 kilowatt power units will be installed at four other nuclear stations which are now under construction in the European part of the USSR...

In 1983 large investments will be earmarked for the further strengthening of the material-technical basis of the light, food, meat-and-dairy and other industries which turn out consumer goods. The construction of enterprises producing cottons, knitwear, footwear and clothes is being accelerated. In Uzbekistan alone over 20 light industry enterprises will be built. The USSR's furniture-manufacturing capacities will go up by 30 per cent as compared with 1982.

At present more than one-third of all

investments in the national economy is made in the agro-industrial complex and the Soviet food programme. These investments will make it possible to considerably strengthen and improve the material and technical basis of agriculture in 1983 and also to extend irrigated and drained lands. Large integrated poultry farms, livestock complexes, fodder-producing enterprises, greenhouses, vegetable and grain storages are being built in various regions of the USSR. The construction of cottages, cultural and public service centres is being expanded in the countryside.

The Soviet State takes constant care of the full satisfaction of the growing social needs of the urban and rural population. In 1983 it is planned to build about 1,400

new school buildings, hundreds of children's pre-school establishments, public libraries, clubs and theatres. The public health network will be greatly expanded. Like in previous years, over two million comfortable flats will be built.

In the next year eleven million Soviet builders will be engaged in the implementation of one of the biggest construction programmes in the world. They will focus their efforts and funds on projects due to completion and on key projects so that their commissioning be accelerated. Soviet builders are going to attain a high return with relatively lower expenses.

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31.12.82



ROLE OF COMMUNIST PARTY DURING BRITISH PERIOD

KALI PADA BOSE

The Communist Party of India has played an important role in Indian politics since 1925. The cult of communism spread in India after the famous Russian revolution. The Communist Party, it is claimed, played an important part in Indian politics, specially in the struggle of the middleclass, peasants and workers. But, we should take note that although the claim of the Communist Party of India (which is now divided into three viz the Communist Party of India, Communist Party of India (Marxists) and Communist Party of India Marxists-Leninist) is accepted by many, it is infact only partially true. After the attack by Germany on Russia the undivided C.P.I. acted in collaberation with the British Government in throttling the revolutionary activities which took place after the August 1942 Revolution in India as well as the formation and activities of the Indian National Army by Subhas Chandra Bose abroad.

On looking back one finds that in October, 1924 Subhas Chandra along with seventeen revolutionaries were arrested under Regulation III of 1818 and ultimately sent to Mandalay Jail, Burma. The main charge against Subhas Chandra and the other revolutionaries was involvement in a conspiracy to smuggle arms into India via the Far East. It will be useful to quote here extracts from Home Political Department File No. 379 of 1924 :

"Subhas Bose, Satyendra Mitra and Surandra Ghosh are all leading members of the Jugantar Party and are concerned in a conspiracy to smuggle

arms in large quantities into India. Subhas Bose is financing this plot as well as supplying absconders with funds".....

At the end of July, the same source reported the arrival in Calcutta of two Bolshevik agents who, he said, were in touch with Subhas Bose and other revolutionaries. During August the source stated that he had conversations with one of these agents who had told him that the Bolsheviks had well-organised schools outside India at which persons were being instructed in the art of modern warfare and from these schools trained men would come to lead the revolutionary army in India when a rising took place. He showed two source maps of (1) Asia (2) India and (3) Calcutta. On the maps of Asia were marked all the passes into India from Afganistan, Tibet and Burma and the source was told that these passes would be used to bring in arms when the occasion arose...An agreement had been reached between Indian revolutionaries abroad and the Bolsheviks to the effect that the latter would make deposits of arms in the countries and islands near India with the object of smuggling these arms into India when an opportunity arises."

Subhas Chandra wrote a thesis "Hindustani Sanyabadai Sangha in 1933 when he was

in Madras Penitentiary. He expressed strong desire to discuss the contents of the thesis written by him with the leaders of the Communist International (Comintern) in Europe. He met Clemens Dutta in 1933 in Switzerland. On June 10, 1933 a conference was organised in London by Shapurji Saklatvala a member of the British Communist Party and Subhas gave the Presidential speech. He was not allowed to go to London and hence the Presidential Speech was read at the Conference by Saklatvala. In the Speech Subhas Chandra could not, for obvious reasons, discuss the armed revolution and except some broad outlines, he omitted (from his speech) details of his plan of action. In September, 1933 the Comintern in its official organ 'International Press Conference' came out with a severe criticism of Subhas Bose's London speech under the title "The New Party of Bose and what should be our attitude to it." On page 1184 the International Press Conference writes :—

"The Programme of Bose does not present a way to liberate India. Bose proposed to limit the struggle to some economic measures which will paralyse the activity of the government machine and thus force the British Imperialists to give way. Through economic pressures alone it is impossible to obtain the independence of India. It is necessary to raise the fight for power; prepare the people for revolution."...Mr. Bose does not agree with such Marxism and fights against it."

On July 4, 1931 Subhas Chandra in his Presidential speech at the A.I.T.U.C. held in Calcutta rightly described the role of the C.P.I. in the following manner :—

"There is on the one hand, the Right Wing who stand for a reformist programme and everything else. On the other side there are Communist friends who, if I have understood them right, are adherents and followers of Moscow. Whether we agree with the views of either group or not, we cannot fail to understand them. Between these groups, is another group which stands for socialism-for full blooded socialism-but which desires that India should evolve her own form of socialism as well as her own methods. To this group I humbly claim to belong."

In April, 1935 Subhas Chandra met Romain Rolland, the famous litterateur and thinker of the West, in Switzerland. Rolland recorded the gist of this conversation in his diary. Amongst other things he wrote about Subhas Chandra :—

"As for Bose, he appears also to be at the border of communism, but he does not want to hear of it. Probably his aversion is due to personal reasons towards the present representatives of the party in India. For he declares that he will not see any harm if the USSR helps India to free herself... and what he finds wrong with the country is that she does not show any interest to-day in World Revolution for the sake of her national policy (Translated from French).

It is, thus, clear from the diary entries of Romain Rolland that Subhas Chandra was thinking in terms of obtaining military assistance from the Soviet Union in the event of a War.

When the war started on the 3rd Septem-

ber, 1939 Subhas Chandra felt that the war gave India a unique opportunity to strike for India's freedom. But he was sure that the revolution in India would not succeed without foreign help particularly because the British Indian Army was still loyal to the British Government. He, therefore, wanted to get into touch with Moscow. In this connection an extract from the note by S.S. Baltivala on 6th March, 1972 is given below :-

I represented the Communist Party of India in the meetings with Subhas Chandra Bose in October, 1939 after the second World War had just commenced. I took notes of what he said because I had to report back to the party. He said, "I trust Soviet Russia as one state which will not be interested in colonising India. So I would be ready to welcome military help from Soviet Russia to secure our freedom from the claws of British imperialists...The strategy I suggest is : We in India launch a full-scale national movement for freedom ; at the same time, Soviet Russia marches in from the North, declaring that they are coming in as allies of nationalist India, which is struggling to free itself from Imperialism. He was positive that our country would rise like one man and welcome them. Between the pincers of the Soviet Army and the nationalist upsurge in every village and town in India, the British would be squeezed out in no time." I conveyed this to the C.P.I. Polit Bureau and returned our reply to Netaji. The C.P.I. did not look upon the scheme with favour. They termed it 'opportunism' But if a message was written and given to them, they would see that reached

Moscow... After some exchanges the C.P.I. accepted the suggestion and acted accordingly." But there was no response from the Soviet Union to the proposal of Subhas Chandra."

Subhas Chandra arrived in Germany in 1941. Shortly after his arrival in Germany the Germans attacked the Soviet Union on 17th July 1941. Weeks after the attack, Subhas Chandra met Herr Woermann, Secretary of State of the German Foreign Office, where he told Her Woermann during the conversation that "*in the German-Russian War, the sympathies of the Indian people were very clearly with Russia because the Indian people felt definitely that Germany was the aggressor and was for India, therefore, another dangerous imperialist power.*" The original of this note is still in the archives of German Foreign office in Bonn and it was seen by Hitler and Ribentopp, the German Foreign Minister."

Till the Russo-German war started, the Communist Party described the war as an imperialist war. After the Russo-German conflict, when instructions were received from Moscow and London, there was a complete change in its outlook. In this connection a few confidential notes are given below :—

I

1. Attitude of Communists and others towards the War.

2. Removal of ban on the C.P.I.

"It may be desirable to approach the British ambassador in Russia with a view to seeing : whether it will be possible for the Soviet Union to make any public pronouncement regarding the attitude that the Communists in India should take towards the War or regarding the movements of Subhas

Chandra Bose if they have official knowledge of them.

As regards (c) above, we have reliable information that the Soviet recently made use of an Indian communist who had made his way secretly to Russia, to send his back to this country, To inform the Communist Party of India that they should fully support the British war effort."

R. Tottenhen 1.12.41.

2. H.M's second point was whether it was desirable to approach the British ambassador in Moscow with a view to seeing whether the Russian government would be prepared to make a public pronouncement on the lines of the secret message. Achuar Singh brought the message. This matter was discussed at length. Achuar Singh's message was from the Comintern. It was agreed that is highly improbable that the Comintern would issue a public statement, but that Stalin or the U. S. S. R. Government might. It was accepted that a message from Russia to Indian Communists telling them that they should back the British war effort would be beneficial in several respects" (Extract from a note dated 8.12.41 from the Deputy Director (c) Intelligence Bureau, to the Director, I.B.).

THE INDIAN COMMUNISTS AND THE WAR (PRELIMINARY NOTE).

The Communist directorate in Bombay have very recently decided with obvious reluctance and evidence of disagreement inside the party ranks as a result, to renounce their former anti-war policy.....Both resolutions demand India's participation in the war against fascism and reconsideration of their attitude by Congress and other political

organisations, with none of the previous attempts to distinguish between the help of the Soviet peoples and their British allies.

The resolution states that the attack on Russia followed by Japan's entry into the war, has convinced everyone that this is no longer an Imperialist war but a people's war which must be supported unconditionally.

When Germany attacked Russia, the war became a people's war and the policy was reversed. The C.P.G.B. obediently followed suit with an about turn in October, 1939 and the second in June, 1941," N. M. Joshi, M.L.A. 30th April, 1942.

Further Shri N. M. Joshi, M. L. A. wrote a letter to Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Minister, Government of India. The letter together with the note is given below :—

Dear Sir Reginald Maxwell,

I am enclosing herewith a document which purports to restate the communist policy and plan of work regarding the support for the war effort. It is intended to secure the freedom of those communists who are either detained in jails or who are underground in order to avoid arrests by removing all the fears and doubts which Government may still have regarding the Communist policy and plan of work. I vouch for the genuineness of the document as having emanated from the communist leaders and also for being the true statement of their policy and plan of work.

I, therefore, request you to give serious consideration to this document. The main proposal is that the persons mentioned in the last paragraph who are the leaders should have their warrants withdrawn and they should be permitted to function openly. The second proposal is that they should be permitted to

publish some paper or papers without security being demanded under the Press Act. I have no doubt that the release of the Communist detainees will follow.

I would like to draw your special attention to the paragraph dealing with production which should remove all your doubts and fears regarding the policy which the Communists would follow in industrial matters.

In conclusion I would like to express a hope that this documents receives your serious and sympathetic consideration and will enable the communists to secure their freedom and help in the war effort which they sincerely want to do.

Yours sincerely,
N.M. Joshi.

NOTE FOR COUNCIL.

As council are aware, Provincial Governments were consulted recently on the subject of the new policy to be adopted towards the Communist Party of India. That policy is to pursue and accelerate the process of gradual release of communists on the clear understanding that they will use their liberty to implement their avowed intention of giving active support to the war effort. The Government of India also put it to the Provinces that it would be stultifying the new policy if the ban on the Communist Party of India were allowed to remain and they therefore proposed that the notification declaring the Communist Party of India to be an unlawful association should be rescinded if circumstances rendered that necessary. It was also proposed that the removal of the ban on the party should be accompanied by the removal of the ban on their previous organs namely "The National Front" and "the New Age."

The Communist party of India in their announcement and circulars to party members have recently indicated a change of front and recognising this war as a People's war, in which the Indian people must in their own interest make common cause with the united freedom loving nations, have decided and permitted, to throw their energies into the task of co-operating with the existing war effort."

Shri P.C. Joshi, the Secretary of the party, visited security prisoners viz. S. A. Dange, S. S. Baltiyala, B. T. Ranadive etc. at Yervada Central Jail on 18. 6. 42 and impressed them with the bonafides of Mr. Maxwell. The fact is that after June, 1942 communist prisoners were all released from jail while others sacrificed their lives for India's freedom. In 1942 Krishna Menon from London requested Nehru to extend unconditional support to British war effort in India.

In the above, we have discussed points from Various Confidential files regarding the role of the Communist Party of India during the British period. After 1941 June when Russia was attacked they suddenly changed their attitude towards the war and instead of declaring the War an Imperialist War, declared it a people's War. Their leaders were released from Jail and Subhas Chandra and The I.N.A. were described as agents of Japan. In their papers Subhas Chandra was described sometimes, a Quisling as also an agent of Japan.

Thus we see that while previously they had supported the Nationalists in their anti-British activities, subsequent to the German attack on Russia their attitude changed and their policy was to support the British war effort as part of helping a people's war.

THROUGH THE END

DJORDJE KOSTIĆ

"Translated from Serbo-croatian"

by

ALOKANANDA MITTER"

17

Under this floor where I am seated
there is a cupboard and some old
clothes,

a shell lay down in it,
and time encircled its nest.

18

We are still in love
with heat dashing it
across the courtyard
every night.

Enraptured with peace
trailing through shirts,
lucid, azure,
pure and tender
clouds.

17

Ispod ovog sprata u kome sedim
postoji orman i staro odelo,—
lezi ljuska u njemu,
i vreme obilazi njegovo postolje,

18

Mi smo još zaljubljeni
u toplotu i bacamo je
po dvorištu svake noći.

Razdragani smo mirom koji se

provlači

kroz košulje,
prezirne i plave,
meke i čiste
oblake.

19

In a certain
bright little corner
lies a note
that died yesterday.

I see it still waits
for some curious eye
to rouse it after
tomorrow's fray.

20

His covered sole
stood still
and he lay down beneath it.
Perfume spread like his eyes,
and skin stretched over the courtyard
like antennae
to quiver in the night.

19

U jednom uglu,
sitnom i svetlom,
leži beleška
umrla juče.

Ja je vidim kako još čeka
da je probudi radoznale oko
posle sutrašnje tuče.

20

Pokriveno je stopalo njegove
stalo

i on je legao ispod sebe.

Miris je raširio kao svoje oči
i kožu je razapco po dvorištu—
kao antene
da drhte u noći.

THE ECONOMICS OF EDIBLE OILS

MANZOOR AHMAD KHAN

The demand for edible oils continuously increased during the last three decades following an increase in population and real per capita income of the people. Edible oils being necessities of life, the income elasticity of demand for them is very near to one in the low-income countries like India and is expected to be so in future too. Therefore, one would reasonably assume that the demand for edible oils is expected to increase in the decades to come. However, the supply of edible oils has been disturbed by the vagaries of the Monsoon. The production of oilseeds in 1982-83 was estimated at about 100 to 105 lakh tonnes as against 120 lakh tonnes in the preceding year owing to untimely and inadequate Monsoons. As in the case of cereals, the production of oilseeds—both edible and non-edible—has tended to be a gamble during the Monsoon. Since the imbalance between demand for and supply of edible oils has serious implications for our domestic and external economy, there is official recognition that there is an imperative need to put the entire edible oil economy on a sound footing.

A comparison of the per capita edible oil consumption in India with that of other developed countries would help us in estimating the future demand for edible oils. The per capita availability of fats and edible oils is about 6.5 Kgs. in India which is considerably lower than that in other developing countries and about half that of developed countries. This could be interpreted to mean that as economic development takes place and real per capita income increases, the demand

for edible oils is expected to double. However, domestic production of fats and edible oils is only one-third of this very low per capita availability.

Thus there is a wide gap between the supply and demand for edible oils. The prevailing gap is also widening. The gap between edible oils supply and demand was only six lakh tonnes in 1970-71. It has increased to well over 14 lakh tonnes in 1982-83 and it is estimated that the gap will be about 18 lakh tonnes by 2000 A.D. This speaks for the urgency with which massive edible oil production scheme should be undertaken in the near future.

The prices of edible oils have continuously increased in recent months following supply-demand imbalances. The all India index number of wholesale prices for edible oils (1970-71=100) climbed an all time high record of 309.80 during the week ended August 27, 1983, registering a staggering rise of nearly 17 per cent over the March-end 1983 level. The upsurge in edible oil prices has continued in September, 1983 as well. The price of a 4 kg. tin of groundnut oils which was available at Rs. 84.10 in March was sold at Rs. 101.70 in September. That is to say, it has increased by nearly 20 per cent in a period of five months. The price of 4 Kg. coconut oil tin increased by 16 per cent from Rs. 98.45 in March to Rs. 114.50 in September 1983. Mustard oil prices have also increased by the same degree from Rs. 41.20 per 2 Kg. tin to Rs. 47.80 during the same period.

The increase in edible oil prices is an international phenomenon. For example, in the world market, the price of palm oil increased by 61 per cent, of coconut oil by 42 per cent and of groundnut oil by 3 per cent during the period between May and July 1983. Therefore, a major portion of the increase in prices of edible oils can be attributed to actual scarcity rather than seasonal and speculative factors.

The Government of India has resorted to increased importation of edible oils and increased allocation of it to the States in order to restrain speculative activities in this trade. The edible oil import bill for last few years is furnished in the following table. With the help of imported edible oils, the government was in a position to double the quantity of edible oils allocated to States in August as compared to March 1983. But steady increase in imports has drained the Government exchequer. The edible oil import bill for the year 1982-83 is estimated at around Rs.800 crores which will have serious implications for our balance of payments.

EDIBLE OIL IMPORTS

Year	Value in crore. Rs.
1975-76	14.20
1978-79	537.10
1979-80	429.80
1980-81	682.90*
1981-82	378.30*
1982-83	117.60*

*Provisional

(April-Sept.)

Four alternative measures can be suggested to overcome the edible oil crisis :

- i) increasing domestic oil production,
- ii) exporting non-edible oils to fetch edible oils,

iii) import of edible oilseeds rather than edible oil itself and

iv) diversification in the pattern of edible oil consumption.

While the implementation of the first and last measures depends on domestic economic policies, the implementation of the second and third depends upon international market conditions. The scope for adopting these four alternative measures determines the capacity to ease the edible oil crisis.

The production of oilseeds showed an annual growth rate of 3.46 per cent up to 1966-67 and thereafter came down to 0.62 per cent. While snail's pace of growth in the area under oilseeds was noticed since 1960s both in terms of area of yield it is not uniform across the States and regions. While in some States like Gujarat, Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu the area under oilseeds has increased in other States like Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Punjab the area under oilseeds declined.

There were also some structural changes in the oilseeds production. The proportion of area under edible oilseeds in the total area under oilseeds has increased and that of non-edible oilseeds declined since 1975-76 while the share of non-edible oilseeds in total oilseeds production has slightly increased during the same period.

The fact that there has been a steady increase in the price level of edible oils is clearly beyond any doubt. This price rise has not encouraged the farmers to supply more of edible oilseeds. The price response of edible oilseeds supply was found to be insignificant. That is, in order to increase edible oils supply, special incentives are found necessary. These special incentives could be distribution of seeds, distribution

of fertilisers at subsidised rate and increasing the floor price for these crops. The support prices of both groundnut in shell and soyabean have been increased this year as compared to 1982-83. Further, in spite of its late start the Monsoon was better this year than in the previous year. These two considerations are expected to raise oilseeds production.

Technological development and its diffusion are not up to the mark till now in the edible oilseeds sector. Though there are some HYVs, they are not widely adopted in this country. While additional attempts to improve the technology are desirable, speedy adoption of it by the farmers is of great practical significance.

The other alternative available for the country is to export non-edible oils for the purpose of importing edible oils. As far as India is concerned, there is good scope for adopting this measure. India has emerged as the largest producer of castor seeds last year (1982-83) in the world with a record output of 3.66 lakh tonnes of castor seeds. Production of castor oil is about 1.35 lakh tonnes per year and the domestic requirement is only of the order of about 35,000 tonnes. Exportable surplus, therefore, is of the order of about one lakh tonnes of oil.

In 1982-83, the country exported 57,000 tonnes of castor oil valued at Rs.48 crores. The target for 1983-84 is 80,000 tonnes amounting to Rs.70 crores. The country has not yet reached the optimum target of one lakh tonnes for which it has the capacity.

Production of rice bran oil of an edible grade has increased from 3000 tonnes in 1980-81 to 26,000 tonnes in 1982-83. It is expected to increase to 50,000 tonnes in 1983-

84 because of the efforts of the rice bran processing industry. If the rice milling industry is encouraged to modernise its plants, the production of edible grade rice bran oil can reach five times the present level. The export of rice bran deoiled cakes has fetched Rs. 32.63 crores in 1982-83 and is expected to earn a record Rs. 38 crores in 1983-84. There is also considerable scope for increasing production of non-edible rice bran oil.

The third alternative available for the country is to import edible oils which has been on an increase in the recent past. Here also there is rationale for importing edible oilseeds rather than edible oils. Oil industry sources reveal that part of the edible oil import should be in the form of edible oilseeds so that it will solve the capacity crisis in this industry and will also generate additional employment in these units scattered all over the country. Industry circles also point out that high oil-content seeds like groundnut and rapeseed are available in the overseas market at reasonable prices, e.g. groundnut in African and rapeseed in Canadian markets. The soyabean industry has nearly three-fourths of its capacity lying idle. There is also demand for soyabean oil, flour and other products from abroad. Importing soyabean and exporting finished products itself are a practical proposition.

Groundnut oil accounts for a significant portion of total edible oil consumption. The proportion of other edible oil like coconut oil and mustard oil is insignificant. Given this pattern of consumption, any setback in the production of groundnut oil is expected to destabilise the supply of edible oils to a considerable extent. Therefore, a change in the pattern of consumption from the traditional oils to the non-traditional oils like

palm oil, rice bran oil, cottonseed oil is desirable.

1983-84 marks a bright period for edible oils production. Reports from all the major oilseed-producing areas indicate that kharif output is likely to be an all time record, estimated at between 34 lakh tonnes to 37 lakh tonnes of edible oil. In view of sufficient moisture in the soil, the outlook for rabi crop is considered to be quite promising. While the anticipated record edible oil supply in 1983-84 will be nearly 10 lakh tonnes higher than in 1982-83, it will be only two to three lakh tonnes more than in 1981-82. Considering that the per capita availability of edible oils is almost one-fourth of the minimum nutritional requirements of fat, self-sufficiency in edible oils still remains a distant dream.

In conclusion, it could be said that the demand for edible oils has increased faster than the increase in its supply in the recent past. This has led to a gap between the two and this gap is expected to increase. In spite of incentives given by the Government for increasing production of edible oilseeds and fairly good monsoon in 1983-84, it would be difficult to meet the requirements fully. Hence exporting non-edible oils to a greater extent and importing edible oilseeds rather than edible oils itself will be a practical solution for the problem in the short run. No measure other than increasing domestic production will help in solving this problem in the long run.

The State Trading Corporation has been directed to enter the international market for purchase of corn oil, sunflower oil and soyabean oil to meet the needs of the public distribution system. This is a sequel to reduction in supplies of palm oil and palmoleine from Malaysia due to unprecedented rise in prices of these edible oils. The STC has also been asked to import

10000 tonnes of coconut oil. This step is being taken in order to bring down the domestic prices of coconut oil which are ruling extremely high. The imported coconut oil is planned to be issued through the public distribution system primarily in Kerala and also Bombay which has a large Keralite population.

The soyabean oil purchased by STC would be refined and released mainly in the southern and western region where palmoleine has become a popular cooking medium. It would initially be issued through fair price shops in Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala. In Malaysia palmoleine prices have been raised even higher than soyabean oil prices, which normally rule the international market just as groundnut oil prices rule the domestic market.

As a result, the government felt it would be prudent to go in for purchases of soya oil instead of palmoleine or palm oil, since it is required in large quantities for the public distribution system. The Government has decided to increase the allotment of imported edible oils for release through fair price shops. The increase which takes effect from Feb. '84 will be 5000 tonnes over the current month's allotment of 70000 tonnes.

Normally during this season, the allocation of edible oils to states is reduced due to increased supplies of indigenous oils, specially groundnut oil. For instance January last year the total release of imported edible oils was only 32000 tonnes as compared to 70000 tonnes in the present month.

This year, however, although production of oilseeds and consequently edible oils is higher than last year, prices in the domestic market have been spiralling upwards. By injecting more supplies of imported oils into the public distribution system, the prices are expected to be contained. A decline has already been witnessed in groundnut oil prices but not to the extent desired, official circles say.

Indian and Foreign Periodicals

IMPROVING WORKING CONDITIONS IN SMALL ENTERPRISES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

A. E. Louzine Writes.

Many developing countries, in their programmes of socio-economic development, assign an important role to the small-scale sector, linking the potential of this sector with possibilities for creating low capital-cost employment, developing a pool of skilled and semi-skilled workers to meet the requirements of future industrial expansion, promoting industry in rural areas, preventing unplanned urbanisation and reinforcing links between economically and geographically diversified sectors. In addition, the growth of large enterprises, including those in the public sector, often depends on the small-scale sector to fulfil requirements for a wide range of materials, components and sub-assemblies.

On average, small enterprises¹ constitute more than 90 per cent of manufacturing undertakings in developing countries and may account for over one-half of total employment, with the possibility of being able to employ even more.² The small-scale sector in India,³ for example, accounts for about 40 per cent of total national industrial production and for only 10 per cent of the total fixed industrial capital. More than 2,400 products are now being made in this sector, ranging from sophisticated instruments and equipment, such as television sets, to simple traditional items. It provides 38 per cent of employment in industry.⁴

Among the problems of small enterprises

which deserve special attention are those related to working conditions and environment. For a variety of reasons which will be discussed later, it is often in small enterprises that the most arduous or tedious tasks are found, accident rates are highest and conditions of work most unfavourable.

Government agencies in developing countries find it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to improve the situation. The large number of units, their geographical dispersion and their short life span are some of the factors which place the small enterprise sector almost out of reach of officials and specialists responsible for the promotion of better working conditions....

People in developing countries—and in some industrialised ones as well—often ask themselves whether it is not a luxury to spend effort and money on the humanisation of work and on improving the working environment when millions of people have no work at all. Is it not, they argue, more reasonable to solve the problem of unemployment first and then start thinking about better working conditions?

Presumably, such questions are based on the assumption that better working conditions benefit only those who are directly affected by them and bring only additional financial burdens and not benefits to the enterprise and to society as a whole. This assumption is, however, of doubtful validity, for the following reasons. Firstly, prevention of industrial accidents pays off. Apart from their social costs,

the direct cost to the undertaking of

accident.....is out of all proportion to what it would have spent in preventing them. The indirect cost due to the disorganisation caused by the accident and the resulting loss of time should also be taken into account: the instruction and training of a substitute and sometimes the immobilisation and replacement of equipment.⁵

Although these remarks apply to all industrial undertakings, they are especially true for small ones, which are more vulnerable in this respect. Secondly, many improvements are inexpensive or cost nothing at all. This is true for changes in patterns of work organisation, rescheduling of working time, changes in workplace layout, improved housekeeping and many other innovations. Thirdly, better working conditions may result in higher productivity and quality of work through reduction of physical and mental strain and increased worker motivation. Regular maintenance of machines and proper storage of raw materials in the shop help both to improve general efficiency and to reduce the accident rate. Simple modifications in the working environment, such as readjusting lighting or changing the colour of the walls, help to improve the quality of work and are beneficial for workers.

Last but not least, today's actions are vital for tomorrow. A blind faith in technological determinism and underestimation of the importance of the human factor in industrial development have resulted in widespread recourse to fragmented, repetitive, monotonous jobs which cause deep dissatisfaction among workers and augment the turnover rate and absenteeism while lowering productivity. Billions of dollars are now being spent in industrially advanced countries in redesigning technology to make it "more human". Numerous experiments in "job enrichment",

"job enlargement" and "group work" are carried out to restore work values lost in the course of industrialisation. Might it not be more beneficial for small enterprises to put efforts into preserving the richness of job content instead of allowing it to be destroyed and attempting to restore it later? The ILO's experience with the introduction of new forms of work organisation shows that they can be just as applicable in developing countries as in more advanced ones.⁶

Notes

1. For the purpose of this article "a small enterprise is...one in which the operational and administrative management lie in the hands of one or two people who are also responsible for making the major decisions of the enterprise." ILO : *Small Enterprise Development Programme* (Geneva, 1982), p.3.
2. P. A. Neck (ed.) : *Small enterprise development : policies and programmes*, Management Development Series No. 14 (Geneva, ILO, second impression, 1979), p. 10.
3. Generally, undertakings having investment in machinery and equipment not exceeding 2 million rupees.
4. Government of India, Small Industries Development Organisation : *Small scale industries in India ; some facts and figures* (New Delhi, 1978), p. 2.
5. ILO : *Making work more human*, Report of the Director-General, International Labour Conference, 60th Session 1975, pp. 23-24.
6. G. Kanawaty and E. Thorsrud, with contributions from J. P. Semiono and

J. P. Singh : "Field experiences with new forms of work organisation", in *International Labour Review*, May-June 1981, pp. 263-277.

—International Labour Review
July-August, 1982

INDIAN RENAISSANCE AND RAM-MOHAN ROY

Dr. L.N. Chowdhuri writes.

In India the term 'Renaissance' has been taken from the famous European Renaissance which took place in that continent after what is called the dark ages, when the civilization of the Graeco-Roman times had become extinct. The discovery of the literature and other cultural creations of ancient Greece and also of Graeco-Roman times stirred a new spirit, creating the European renaissance. By this 'Renaissance' is generally meant that reawakening and "enthusiasm for classical literature, learning and art which sprang up in Italy towards the close of the Middle Ages and which during the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries gave a new culture to Europe."

The Indian renaissance started after several centuries. The conquest and occupation of Bengal, and, by and by, the whole of India by the English East India Company brought about serious changes in the history of India. Bengal being occupied first by this foreign power, the former came into close contact with the civilization and culture of the west. This contact produced far-reaching consequences in the country : But compared with the European renaissance, Bengal renaissance was not so wide and all-pervading and had many characteristic differences, It may be mentioned here "that under the influence of

the intellectual revival the men of western Europe came to think and feel, to look upon life and the outer world, as did the men of ancient Greece and Rome. It was this similarity in mental viewpoint that caused the men of the renaissance to recognize kindred spirits in the men of Graeco-Roman times, which awakened in them such an unbounded admiration for everything relating to classical antiquity and which made the revival movement in Italy, the country of its birth, to consist almost exclusively in a passionate effort to recover all that could then be recovered of the long-lost heritage of classical civilization." During the Indian renaissance, such recovery, though on a lesser scale, was also made in the cases of long-lost ancient literatures of the vedic and Buddhistic times as well as of the buried architectural remains of the Hindu times. The ancient scripture of the Indo-Aryans and the ancient Buddhistic literature were not only recovered through enterprise and scholarship of Europeans and others but made available to us in print.

But, as the Indian renaissance occurred as the result of the impact of foreign civilization and culture, their acceptance and assimilation here could not be so easy and simple as those of the European renaissance and they depended on various factors, such as, how far they could be accepted on rational grounds for the good of India. "In fact, India was not called upon to plume herself in the borrowed feathers of European civilization, she had only to assimilate modern thought and modern arts into her inner life without any loss of what she had so long possessed." (J. N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. IV, p. 348)

At this juncture came Rammohan Roy (1774-1833) with his prophetic vision. That was a time "when our country, having lost

its link with the inmost truths of its being, struggled under a crushing load of unreason, in abject slavery to circumstance. In social usage, in politics, in the realm of religion and art we had entered the zone of uncreative habit, of decadent tradition, and ceased to exercise our humanity." (Rabindranath Tagore, Bharat Pathik Rammohan Roy, P. 137.) Rammohan has been rightly called the inaugurator of the Modern Age in India. With due emphasis Acharya Jadunath called him the Prophet and Father of Modern India. His considered opinion was that it was he who was the first man "to reach the root principle of the Indian Renaissance; it is the belief that modern civilization is not antagonistic to the heart of Hinduism and that the external trappings in which the two civilizations differ are mere accidents. He preached and showed by his own life that India would not lose her soul by welcoming western science and thought, but she would thereby rather recover her lost glory." (Fall of the Mughal Empire, IV. p. 348.)

Rammohan's earnest activities, with a view to lift his countrymen from the then abject conditions, embraced various spheres of life, and everywhere did he pave a new path for better condition of life. He had an inquiring, rational and conscientious mind, ever bent upon doing good to the people.

It is an admitted fact that the Indian Renaissance "began with our study of English literature and modern philosophy and science from books written in the English Language. Raja Rammohan Roy was the first Indian to write books in English." (India through the Ages, p. 62.) Though English education had commenced earlier, it was for the requirement of clerks of interpreters, suiting the necessities of English masters, but "it was not pursued as an instrument of culture" by

our literate class.

Rammohan was perfectly aware that reform in education was of prime necessity for the uplift of the people. He was connected with talks for the establishment of the Hindu College, but as the orthodox Hindus objected to the inclusion of his name in the committee he, without being in any way, an obstacle to this grand proposal, came away. On his own initiative and in his own way, he opened a school known as the Anglo-Hindu School (1822), where philosophy, literature and science were taught. It was a free institution supported mainly by Rammohan and some of his close friends. In 1825, he established a Vedanta College in which Vedanta and Western arts and sciences were taught.

Above all, his letter to Lord Amherst on 11th December, 1823 for the introduction of a system of education embracing various useful western sciences "by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning educated in Europe and providing a college furnished with the necessary books, instruments to other apparatus," shows how deep was his anxiety for the uplift of his countrymen and enable them to move with the advanced conditions of the time.....

His contributions towards the improvement and advancement of the Bengali prose need special mention. Bengali prose was then in its infancy. Dr. Sukumar Sen has aptly remarked, "Rammohan's predecessors in literature were all text-book writers. Rammohan has the unique honour of being, the first literary writer of Bengali prose, being the first to use Bengali prose as the vehicle of expression of higher thought and philosophy...."

All his "learning did not make his style

pedantic. His Bengali is remarkably free from unnecessary Sanskritisms or unfamiliar Persianisms. It was Rammohan who transformed the newly born, amorphous, ungainly, immobile Bengali prose into a decent, pliable, powerful and vigorous vehicle of higher thought and expression and thereby laid the foundation stone of future Bengali prose literature, which in time came to boast of a Vidyasagar, a Bankim Chandra and a Rabin-dranath. (Commemoration volume, part II pp. 333,338)

Rammohan also conducted a Bengali and a Persian weekly paper named respectively the *Sambad Kaumudi* and the *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* to educate his countrymen as well as to shape their opinion.

"As surely as the Renaissance in Europe was followed by the Reformation so in India too a modification of our social relations, our general outlook upon life and our religious doctrines and practices was bound to result from the action of English education." (*India through the Ages*, p. 69)

Rammohan was against the caste-system and stood vehemently against it. It is not only against the consideration of humanity, but as he wrote to John Digby, "The distinction of castes, introducing innumerable divisions and sub-divisions among them (The Hindus) has entirely deprived them of patriotic feeling...It is, I think, necessary that some change should take place in their religion at least for the sake of their political advantage and social comfort." He translated the 'Borja Suchi' in 1749 Saka (1827 A.D.), —this is a writing very critical of the caste system.

He was a believer in monotheism and his book, *Tuhfatul-Muwahiddin* or *A Gift to Monotheists* written in Persian about the

age of thirty is indeed a masterly work on the subject. From a comparative study of the principal religions of the world he came to the conclusion that all of them eventually rest on the unity of God-Head. He published the vedanta sutra after translation into Bengali and published an Abridgement of the vedanta as well as the translations of the five principal upanishads into English and Bengali. He proved thereon that the Hindus had been monotheists but they took to image worship subsequently. His monotheistic religion based on the upanishads has the characteristics of universality. In his 'Humble Suggestions to his countrymen who believe in one God' (1823), he said that all monotheists were his brethren in faith and in his "Different Modes of Worship" (1825) he advocated toleration.

In place of the Atmiya Sabha, the Brahma Sabha was established on August 20, 1828, and, then, was founded the Brahmo Samaj in January, 1830—, complete toleration is its special feature and here men of all castes, creeds or nationality can meet together for the worship of the one and the same supreme Lord of the universe. The revival of the vedantic religion and through it the unity of the Indian people which Rammohan aimed at, was one of the most important land-marks of the Indian Renaissance. Be it mentioned here that the Upanishads preach not only universal toleration but also unity of men—They are the fountain-heads of monotheism and stand for the equality of all men wherever they may be, without any distinction whatsoever.

It was also through untiring effort and long perseverance that Rammohan succeeded in preparing the ground against the awful custom of burning widows alive on the funeral pyres of their husbands, known as the

system of "Sati". It was prohibited by the Governor-General Lord William Bentinck and his Council in the Territories under the Presidency of Fort William by Regulation XVII of December 4, 1829. Francis Keith Markin said on November 26, 1829, that no one could forget the "glowing sympathy, intelligence and fearless energy displayed through a course of eighteen years, by their great and at length successful advocate, Rammohan Roy." Dr. R. C. Majumdar who is at times unusually critical of Rammohan, also, remarked, "There is no denying the fact that Rammohan worked very hard to abolish this cruel practice and deserves great credit for his works."

Rammohan never hesitated to stand for a just cause. He was against polygamy and in his "Brief Remarks regarding modern encroachments on the ancient rights of Females" he denounced the injustice then being done to womenfolk and reasonably demanded property rights for them.

In all his activities he was led by a cool and calculating mind and rational thinking. He was vehemently opposed to the Press Ordinance of 1823 and was always in favour of liberty of the press as also for free expression of opinion. Discriminations in the Jury Act of 1827 were also subjected to his protests.

Inspired by new ideals, he broke through the cordon of orthodox prohibition and undertook sea-voyages to foreign lands. Dr. N. S. Bose aptly says, "Rammohan can truly be regarded as the first modern Asian to be known and to have exercised at least some influence both in Europe and in America." About America, Miss A. Moore writes, "Previous to New England's knowledge of Rammohan Roy there was no sign of any influence of oriental thought on the American mind." She also says, "Rammohan Roy"

became so much a topic of discussion in America that all the major libraries of the day had copies of his works relative to the controversy on christian dogma. Several editions of his writings were also published in New England." (Rammohan Roy and America, pp. VII, VIII.)

Rammohan in his heart of hearts was a lover of liberty. "Enemies to liberty and friends of despotism have never been and never will be, ultimately successful," such was his conviction. But as the time and circumstances were then most unfavourable for independence movement in India, he led constitutional agitations for the redress of grievances. That he was certainly in favour of a free India is evident from his talk with M. Victor Jacquement, a cultured Frenchman, who met him in 1829.

Rammohan occupies a unique position in the history of our country. Most of the principal movements of the 19th century—educational, social, religious and political etc. for the betterment of India, owe their origin to him. By his rare qualities of head and heart, and uncommon courage he heralded the Indian Renaissance and paved the way to our future progress.

—The Indian Messenger
7. 7. 82

THE MOST EDUCATED SOCIETY IN THE MIRROR OF STATISTICS The Achievements of Soviet Cultural Revolution

Lev Bobrov, Writes

"Centuries achievements in years" is the usual definition of the rate and results of the cultural revolution in the Soviet Union, the country where general primary education was

introduced as early as in the 30's, general eight-year education in the 50's and general secondary (ten-year) education in the 70s. This definition can be illustrated and supplemented with the precise statistics from the jubilee directory book "Soviet National Economy: 1922-1982" published in Moscow to commemorate the Soviet Union's 60th anniversary to be celebrated in December.

Here is an example of the dynamic change in a very important sphere on the boundary of culture and economics. I mean professional training. 11 per cent of wage-earners have higher education now, as against 1.3 per cent in 1939. The same numbers for general secondary education are 74 against 11 per cent. This qualitative growth is continuing. Every person has growing opportunities for his or her self-development in any sphere of activity, from science and technology, or, say, art, to management and public activity. The efficiency of all working people and their ability to solve most complicated problems are also increasing.

All those and many other factors have become a reality in this enormous multi-ethnic country despite the great difficulties it had to overcome.

H. G. Wells, the British writer, who visited Russia in 1920, was struck by its appalling and irreparable crisis. However, Soviet people did overcome obstacles despite many scepticism. It often happened that they had to write with self-made ink, using brown paper for writing and printing, and theatre bills, newspapers and magazines as first-readers. When there were not enough teachers, former pupils would take their place. New text-books were compiled and writing systems for the nations that had never had such before, were created (in the Soviet period about 50 new alphabets were designed.), teaching in

national languages was introduced. Over 50 million illiterates and about 40 million semi-literates learned how to read and write only in the period between 1923 and 1939.

"Hopelessly" backward parts of the country were transformed. Say, before 1920 there were no higher educational establishments in Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Now there are nearly 130 of them there. As for their students, there are more of them per million of the population than in France, West Germany, Britain or Australia. All in all, there are about 900 universities and institutes in the country; every Soviet republic has many of them. I must also mention the 4,400 technical colleges and other secondary special educational establishments. There are even more technical vocational schools, not mentioning common schools.

Soviet society has become the most educated in the world, but its traditional eagerness to learn is not fading. Now there are over 100 million people getting all kinds of education (37 per cent of the population), both children and adults. Over 42 million graduates are mastering new professions, improving their qualifications at industrial enterprises and offices, to say nothing of millions of those attending evening or correspondence courses.

The Soviet educational system, free and available to all, goes on developing, naturally, with an emphasis on quality and taking into account the new requirements dictated by life and the new tasks put forward by the guidelines of the USSR economic and social development for 1981-1985 and for the period ending in 1990, adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress.

Issued by the Information Dept. of the USSR Consulate General in Calcutta.

HELEN KELLER, THE MYSTIC

Dr. Victorta Hugo Writes :

Blind, deaf and mute, Helen Keller was a living legend in her life-time. Triumphant over her handicaps, she attained a level of intellectual and spiritual development and creativity, which was far above that of average humanity. She symbolized not only the power of the spirit but also its omnipresence....

Helen Keller was born on 27 June 1880 in Tuscumbia, Alabama, in southern United States. Alexander Graham Bell tested Helen, as a child of five and discovered that she was a genius of the highest calibre, in spite of the fact that she was totally sightless and soundless due to a rare childhood disease. This malady afflicted her as a baby of 18 months. It left her a wild, uncontrollable child until seven years of age, when on March 3, 1887 the Kellers employed a tutor, Anne Sullivan.

'Teacher', as Helen always called Miss Sullivan, developed the helpless child to become one of the greatest and most famous individuals of the world. Anne Sullivan struggled many months to awaken the little girl mentally, who was very beautiful physically, with a strong and healthy body. The teacher's method of education was unique. She was a graduate of Perkins Institute, Boston, Massachusetts, America's original school for the handicapped. Teacher and student were never separated for many years.

All of Helen Keller's elementary and secondary education was developed entirely with private tutoring by her teacher. Finally, Helen's college education was undertaken at Radcliff College... Anne Sullivan sat side by side reading all texts laboriously and playing it into Helen's palm; often the red flesh broke through the skin, then the wrist and arm, was finger-played with the deaf alphabet.

Very few braille books were available at that period.

Radcliff's requirements were strict, without any special consideration for a handicapped individual. Helen Keller graduated in four years with a B.A. degree, *cum laude*. She mastered English, German, French, Italian, Spanish, Latin, Greek, science and mathematics. Helen wrote all the European languages well.

One of America's great writers, Mark Twain, named these two remarkable women 'two bodies with one mind.' The completion of formal education enabled both women to concentrate on their work for the handicapped. Helen's inner being was now developing. She was, by nature meditative; her radiant personality was full of love, kindness, and understanding. She had a burning desire to help the unfortunate handicapped, especially the blind. Helen believed that blindness was the severest of all handicaps.

Religion for Helen Keller was as natural as breathing. Her inner world was dynamic and luminous and she was extraordinarily sensitive to vibrations. Her fingers had such great sensitivity that she was able to feel music, colour, and the sounds of nature. Animals, birds and all other forms of life became a reality and living awareness for her. Anyone who knew her could sense that one stood beside greatness. Reporters who knew that Miss Keller seldom attended church often questioned her, "What is your religion?" Her answer was always the same, 'My religion stands on the Christianity of love.'

Helen Keller embraced all religions and understood the value of individual salvation. She was unique in her absolute understanding of other people's faith. Oriental philosophy and art were a real passion for her. She truly belonged to all nations.

The American Federation for the Blind (A.F.B.) originally was a very small organization in New York City before Helen Keller started her work. She developed it into an immense institution by contributing millions of dollars annually for the handicapped collected through her lectures and writings.

In 1936 when Anne Sullivan departed from this world, Helen was so over-powered with grief that she had to cancel all her activities for some time. However, Polly Thomson, her only companion for 46 years, gave her great support. These two benevolent women together worked diligently for the handicapped all over the world. Work on the education of the blind in European countries had been well established even before the passing of Anne Sullivan Macy. But their work was yet to spread into oriental, Australian, and African countries, as well as Pacific Islands.

In 1937, the Japanese government invited Helen and Polly to Japan as guests of the Emperor. This resulted in the building of schools, workshops, libraries, institutions, and hospitals, as well as other means of dealing with the handicapped problems all over Japan. Wealthy people and noble men gave generous donations for this work. Japan accepted Helen's programmes and thus great projects were developed.

Helen and Polly travelled to other oriental countries including India, Africa, Australia, and many Pacific Islands. Everywhere huge crowds greeted them with cheers, flowers, love and joy. These two magnanimous, gentle, spiritual women worked ceaselessly for the rehabilitation of the handicapped wherever they went....

Miss Keller pressured the U.S. Congress for years on end until they finally established

state-wide funds for blind children's education. Prior to Helen Keller there existed three types of braille: Helen's determination and inner vision were strong enough to finally establish only one type of braille book. Lastly, she created talking books for those who were unable to learn printed braille....

She was a happy and healthy person with a pure and intelligent mind and was always creating new projects and ideas. Her inner life which was highly developed gave her an unusual awareness of the special needs that her handicapped people faced in the physical world. Most of her efforts bore fruits bringing solace and fulfilment to her beloved sightless and soundless sisters and brothers. These selfless delights she would reveal frequently to her intimate friends who were in a position to assist her financially or otherwise in her great humanitarian work.

Some of her intimate friends often marvelled at her beautiful experiences which she narrated as they issued from her inner being. She would often describe her visions through vivid and colourful pictures. She would relate with the thrill of joy that she saw beautiful children, lovely forests, rivers, gardens of flowers, beautiful sunrise, sunset and the beauty of life pulsating every-where. She often wondered how people endowed with natural sight and hearing could miss so much joy present everywhere in the universe.

One of England's queens once gave a reception for Helen Keller and Polly which was attended by a large number of celebrities and England's royalty. The queen questioned Helen as to how it was possible for her to enjoy all of nature, as she apparently did without sight or hearing. Helen answered

the queen, 'But Your Majesty, even though I have no physical sight or hearing, I do have an imagination, a sense of smell, taste and feeling of touch. This enables me to enjoy all of nature in its splendour with inner feeling and sensitiveness. By vibrations I can also enjoy music, especially Beethoven whose glorious music is so divine.' Elevating music for Helen was as alive as for most normal people.

Religion and philosophy for Dr. Helen Keller were not only academic subjects. She believed and understood the true meaning of spirituality of living a most saintly life. She was aware and realised the genuine significance of 'I am, therefore, I think.' She saw the whole world lit with the light of God. There was no division between her inner life and outer life. She lived perpetually in the glory of the Spirit.

—Prabuddha Bharata
July—1982

ISLAM AND HUMAN FRATERNITY

Tarique Sohrab writes.

Islam is one of the major religions of the world. It claims to be a universal religion capable of undertaking responsibility for the welfare, prosperity, and salvation of mankind...

Islam's view of man is that he was sent into this world by God in order to worship Him, to establish justice and equity, to promote the good and to prevent evil. It realizes that many will accept its teachings and many will reject them.

God regards man as supreme among His creatures. Man's potentialities are greater than those of other living things and if he follows the path laid down by God he will retain this supremacy.

Verily, We have honoured the children of Adam. We carry them on the land and the sea, and have made provision of good things, and have preferred them above many of those whom We created, with a marked preferment.¹

Man is thus a noble creature able to use the things of the world for his relief and comfort, and for the well-being of all. We see this in the progress he has made in learning and art, culture and civilization, science and technology, and in the way this advancement has benefited humanity in general.

Having shown the superiority of man, Islam next stresses that all men are equal in humanity for all are the children of Adam. No distinction can be made among them on grounds of race, colour, religion or language. In spite of these differences men must live as members of one community, regarding each other as brothers, similar to themselves.

O mankind! Be careful of your duty to your Lord who created you from a single soul and from it created its mate and from them twain hath spread abroad a multitude of men and women.²

All men are equal in society, before the law, and in the necessity of fulfilling their responsibilities.

O mankind! Lo! We have created you male and female, and have made you nations and tribes that ye may know one another. Lo! The noblest of you, in the sight of Allah, is the best in conduct.³...

The Quran and the Hadith demand that everyone—rule and ruled, rich and poor, small and big,—should be treated alike in social and legal matters. But it is common experience that when a man acquires power and authority he often abandons all notions

of equality and justice and oppresses the helpless and the weak for his own advantage or to satisfy his lust. We find an interesting and instructive example of this at the beginning of Islamic history.

When, during the time of Umar, the Muslims conquered Egypt, Amar bin Aas was made governor of the region. One of his sons quarrelled with an Egyptian on some matter and beat him in anger. The Egyptian considered himself wronged and declared his intention of complaining to the Caliph. The son of Amar, because of his father's status, did not think that the petition of this humble Egyptian could harm him. 'Go and complain to whoever you like,' he said. 'I shall lose nothing. I am the son of respectable parents.'

But the Egyptian approached Umar and, pointing to the son of Amar bin Aas, said, 'Oh, Commander of the Faithful! This man beat me without reason and when I told him I would complain to you he said, "Go, complain. I shall lose nothing. I am the son of respectable parents."'

Umar heard the complaint of the Egyptian and looking towards the son of Amar bin Aas with disapproval, said, 'Men are born free. On what grounds are you trying to enslave them?' Then he rose and giving his whip to the Egyptian said, 'Take this; just as he struck you, you also avenge yourself by striking him.'...

All men are equal before the law which was made for the ruler with exactly the same intent as for the ruled. Accordingly, Islam has never tolerated any obstructions in enforcing the law or in punishing the guilty. One major reason for the evil that we find in society is that many people, after committing crimes, are saved from the conse-

quences through status and wealth.

We illustrate the Islamic view in this connection with two more examples.

During the time of the Prophet a woman of a respectable tribe committed theft. The offence was proved against her and in compliance with Islamic law, it became obligatory to cut off her hands. The members of her tribe thought that if this were done the whole tribe would be humiliated. They, therefore, sent Asama bin Zaid, a very dear and close friend of the Prophet Mohammad, to intercede for her. When he pleaded for her prophet was much displeased. 'You are making recommendations against the commandment of God,' he exclaimed. 'The peoples before this were destroyed because, when an important man committed theft he would be let off, whereas a humble man would be punished for the same offence.' And he added, 'I say this on oath that if my own daughter, Fatima, committed theft, I would myself cut off her hands.'

The other event took place during the reign of the Caliph Umar. At this time, Jabla bin Ayham was the ruler of a certain region. After embracing Islam he made the pilgrimage to Mecca and, in company with many other people, began to make the rounds of the Kaaba. It so happened that, by chance Jabla's wrapper got trampled by the feet of a Bedouin; this made Jabla furious and he slapped the Bedouin. The case was presented to Umar. His decision, taken according to Islamic law, was that since Jabla had slapped the Bedouin without justification the Bedouin had the right to slap him in return. On hearing this decision, Jabla expressed astonishment and displeasure that a commoner could avenge himself on a ruler. 'Islam has created equality between the two of you,' declared the Caliph. 'You will therefore, have to accept this decision.' Jabla fled

from Mecca before its enforcement and, going to a Christian area, renounced Islam.

Just as Islam emphasized equality and justice for the welfare of mankind so also it stressed respect for the ideas and sentiments of others. Generally, men have a strong attachment to their own religion and often dislike the religion of others. This dislike sometimes takes on unpleasant forms and creates numerous social problems. Sometimes, on the other hand, people give up certain of their own beliefs in order to soften feelings of hatred born out of religious schisms....

KINDNESS AND GENTLENESS

A study of Islamic teachings makes it clear that it accords great value to man as such and thus lays special emphasis on good treatment for the weak, the helpless and the destitute. The Prophet Muhammed taught his followers to treat others well and to show kindness and sympathy to all.

You treat those who are on the earth compassionately, and the One who is in the heavens will treat you compassionately.

Once, seeing a coffin passing, the Prophet stood up out of respect. One who was with him said, 'That is the coffin of a Jew.' 'He also is a human being,' replied the Prophet.

Towards neighbours, orphans, the destitute, and towards the believers in other religions, one should be gentle, kind and considerate.

[Show] kindness unto parents and the neighbour who is of kin [unto you] and the neighbour who is not of kin, to the fellow-traveller and the wayfarer and [the slaves] whom your right hands possess. Lo! Allah knoweth not such as are proud and boastful.⁸

AND ELSEWHERE, GOD SAYS:

It is not righteousness that ye turn your

faces to the East and the West; but righteous is he who believeth in Allah and the Last Day and the angels and the scripture and the Prophets; and giveth his wealth, for love of Him, to kinsfolk and to orphans, to the needy and the wayfarer and to those who ask, and to set slaves free; who observeth proper worship and payeth the poor-due. And those who keep their treaty when they make one,...Such are they who are sincere. Such are the God-fearing.⁹

Islam teaches kind and affectionate treatment not only to human beings but to every living thing. Thus, animals are not to be troubled or slaughtered without sufficient reason. The prophet says in a *hadith* (tradition): 'A woman entered the Hell for she had kept a cat tied up in her house and would neither give her food or drink nor set her free.'

In another *hadith* it is said; 'A thirsty man went to a well and was returning after drinking when he saw a thirsty dog gasping for water. Seeing the dog's helplessness he felt pity for him. He descended into the well and bringing up water...made the dog drink. For this virtuous deed God pardoned his sins.'

That is why it is said in the Quran: 'For that cause we decreed for the Children of Israel that whosoever killeth a human being for other than manslaughter or corruption in the earth, it shall be as if he had killed all mankind.'¹⁰

MUTUAL SYMPATHY

Islam seeks to build human society on the foundation of mutual sympathy and cooperation and urges men to respond to the needs of others and to treat them compassionately and benevolently. If we fail to do so, there will be no peace or comfort in society for anyone. It is true that everyone does not

belong to the same class in society and that there are differences in status. Some men are wealthy and some are poor, some are strong and some are weak, some are skilful and some are incompetent, some are of an age for work and some are too old, some are employed and some are unemployed. In order to create a balance in these uneven conditions, Islam stimulates mutual co-operation and provides inspiration for right behaviour towards others. That is why the Quran calls the Prophet, 'The benefactor of the world.'

From the foregoing, and from similar teachings, we are justified in reaching the conclusion that Islam teaches benevolence and tolerance towards all men. It inculcates due regard to every aspect of human relations and endeavours to promote peace in society. It urges that differences should be resolved on the basis of honesty and integrity; no resort should be taken to cheating or deception. The dignity and honour of men should be protected; no one should suffer from tyranny. It is the duty of the rich to ensure that the poor face no hardships. The government and those placed in positions of authority must act effectively so that violence, murder and robbery are put down, that the law is not perverted in order to gain private ends, but that it upholds justice and equity, peace and well-being among mankind.

1. Al Quran, sura 17, v. 70.
2. sura 4, v. 1.
3. sura 48, v. 13.
4. sura 57, v. 25.
5. sura 4, v. 58.
6. sura 5, v. 8.
7. sura 6, v. 109.
8. sura 4, v. 36.
9. sura 1, v. 77.
10. sura 5, v. 32.

—The Theosophist
July-82

SCROLLS

Keeping them alive

By Marlin Levin

Jerusalem—When a bored shepherd boy, wandering with his flock along the Dead Sea, aimlessly threw a stone into a cave in the summer of 1947, he struck an archaeological treasure of priceless worth. Investigating a tinkle he heard from the cave, he found he had hit an old clay jar which contained a rolled parchment.

That incident sparked the most momentous archaeological discovery of the 20th century. Further probes into the shoreline limestone caves, used as places of refuge in antiquity, turned up more jars and parchment scrolls. Eventually, biblical scholars had at their disposal the earliest biblical manuscripts ever found—1,000 years older than they had previously known.

Besides the books of the Bible, there were commentaries on the Old Testament, apocryphal stories based on the Bible, and documents relating to the Essenes, an ascetic Jewish sect that lived in the Dead Sea area from the first century B.C. to the first century A.D. All of the scrolls were written in meticulously scripted Hebrew.

Some Bible scholars had traced the roots of Christianity to the Essenes and even suggested that Jesus might have been a member of the sect. So it was natural that the experts poured over the Dead Sea scrolls to find any hint of Jesus' affiliation.

But understanding of the various implications of the centuries-old manuscripts was not the only challenge facing the scholars. A way had to be found to prevent further deterioration of the already fragmentary parchments.

After thirty years of study by Bible

scholars and archaeologists of the contents of the scrolls and seven years of intensified scientific research on their preservation, some new findings have recently come to light.

WAS JESUS AN ESSENE ?

Prof Yigael Yadin of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, one of the first archaeologists to see the scrolls, has concluded that Jesus had not been an Essene. The writings found in the scrolls have convinced him, he says, that "Jesus did not live with the Essenes because he could not agree with one iota of what they were teaching. For example, they thought purity was most important but Jesus was in contact with lepers, prostitutes, impure people. Secondly, in Jesus' Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5:43,44), Jesus says, "Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate Thine enemy. But I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you'..."

Yadin continues: "There can be no doubt that when Jesus told these people to love their enemy, he was preaching against the Essenes and their teachings. He was anti-Essene.

The Essenes disappeared from history with the Roman conquest of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. Left behind in eleven caves was their library which the Beduin shepherd boy happened upon accidentally.

Today, the most important documents are ensconced in a specially built vault room and shrine in the centre of Jerusalem. "The Shrine of the Book," located on the grounds of Israel's national museum, is one of Jerusalem's most distinctive works of architecture.

Dating Deterioration of Parchments

FOR THE Shrine's curator, Magen

Broshi, a veteran archaeologist, the custodianship of the Western world's most valuable archaeological documents is a heavy responsibility. It is little wonder that in 1975 he ordered a full-scale scientific study of the condition of the parchments.

Says Broshi, "We wanted to know exactly what happens in the course of time to the parchment material, why the parchments tend to deteriorate, how best they can be preserved, and not least whether they had deteriorated since they were found in 1947."

The project landed in the lap of a South African-born bio-geochemist, Stephen Weiner. Now on the staff of Israel's prestigious Weizmann Institute of Science, Weiner was trained at the California Institute of Technology.

The puzzle that faced him and his team of chemists and isotope experts was unique. Never before had anyone tried to quantify the deterioration of a 2,000-year-old parchment. At first they tried spectrophotometry on tiny, blank pieces of the scrolls. They got nowhere.

Visually, it was obvious that the darker areas of the scrolls had deteriorated. When they examined those areas they found them to be gelatinous. By comparison, the lighter areas of the parchment were clean and healthy. Why had some areas turned into gelatin while others had not ?

Weiner and his team turned to infrared examination. This showed them that in the darker portions the collagen of the parchment fibres had broken down, " (Collagen is a fibrous protein existing in all living matter and parchment is made from animal skin. When collagen comes in contact with heat and water it turns gelatinous.)

Clearly, the deterioration had taken place

because moisture had gotten to the parchment scrolls. But when? Rumours had been circulating among politically sensitive scholars that the deterioration had taken place while the documents were in Israeli hands. Broshi was concerned. The outcome of the study could be politically explosive.

Expert on Moon Rocks Studies Scrolls

ONE MEMBER of Weiner's team, Prof. Emanuel Gil-Av, was an authority on the use of a process known as racemization—the conversion of an organism's amino acids after its death. By studying the conversion with gas chromatography, it is possible to determine the time when the conversion from one type of acidamino to another stopped. Gil-Av used the process to study moon rocks brought back to earth by U.S. astronauts.

After careful work on pieces of the parchment, Gil-Av found an "extraordinarily high rate" of "right-handed" amino acids. Since such a high percentage takes hundreds of years to develop from "lefthanded" acids, he concluded that the degradation of the parchment could not have possibly taken place during the relatively brief period in Israel's custody.

Weiner's assessment: "The damage may even have begun while the scrolls were still being used by the Dead Sea sect, some 2,000 years ago. We have found no evidence whatsoever that deterioration took place since they were taken from the caves (in 1947)".

Broshi and the Shrine's directors could now breathe easier. But they were taking no chances. They established a monitoring system to warn them if degradation is resumed. Small samples of the parchment have been placed in various sections of the

vaults. Periodically, they are sent to the Weizmann Institute for analysis.

Broshi's staff keeps a daily watch on the scrolls. Every fragment—some of them no bigger than a dot—has been put between sheets of highly absorbent rice paper and laid between sheets of heavy cardboard. They are kept in complete darkness and at the most salubrious rate of humidity (between 50 and 55%).

Authorities on the preservation of documents had suggested placing the scrolls in glass filled with helium as has been done with the American Declaration of Independence. But the scrolls are too long for that. The complete book of the Prophet Isaiah is 24 feet. Moreover, the use of gas is designed to prevent bacteria from attacking the parchment. The real danger to the scrolls is not bacteria but degradation of the collagen.

The 750,000 visitors who annually tour the Shrine of the Book never see all the Dead Sea Scrolls. The Isaiah, for example, is shown only in facsimile in the Shrine's rotunda. Those that emerged from the Dead Sea caves in poor condition will never see the light of day if Broshi has anything to do with it.

Those on display ("The War of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness," "The Habakkuk Commentary" and the Essenes' code of behaviour called "The Manual of Discipline", among others) are sufficiently healthy to be shown.

—News from Israel

—November, 1982

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

"Chittoor Through The Ages"—by Dr. M. D. Sampath M.A., Ph. D., Dep. Anth., Dip. Geog; Dip. Sans., Deputy Superintending Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore. Published (1980) by B.R. Publishing Corporation, 461, Vivekanand Nagar, Delhi—110052 (Price Rs 150.00. \$ 30.00)

In recent times the study of History has laid less emphasis on the Chronological aspects only. Instead scholars have attempted to write the history of a specific region of the particular country concerned rather than that of the country as a whole. Historians in India are no exception to this general trend and Regional Histories have been viewed by several scholars as a miniature history of India, dealing as it does with different aspects of the history of the period concerned through studies in Economics, art, religion and culture, in order to draw a picture quite often portraying its links with the mainstream of Indian Culture. Dr. Sampath's work on the history of Chittoor is the result of studies along these lines.

The main source used by the Author is Epigraphy, every inscription having been scrutinised and studied to clarify the contents so that the particular aspect of history is clearly evident. The Chronological aspect is also included however, through the Chapters on the ruling dynasties such as the Pallavas, Cholas of Renandu, the Vaidumbas, the Banas, the Gangas, and the Nolambas. Their movements have affected the history of this area and have thus been examined accordingly. Because of its geographical situation, this region came under the influence of the major dynasties of the South. Almost

the whole of the district was under the Pallavas from the 4th to the 9th Centuries. Thereafter the Cholas took over and later the Pandyas and Vijayanagara rulers, a detailed study under whom ends this section.

It is interesting to note that historians in the South have given special attention to Chittoor because it was a meeting place as it were of three Linguistic regions Viz Tamil, Telegu and Kannada. Dr. Sampath has studied sources in all these three languages so that a proper perspective is given to this aspect of the regional history. The study largely covers the present day Chittoor district in Andhra Pradesh bounded by the greater portion of Nellore district on the East, Chingaleput, Dharmapuri and North Arcot districts of Tamilnadu on the South and South West by Bangalore and Kolar districts of Karnataka on the West and Anantapur, Cuddapah districts on the North. However, geographical boundaries varied in different periods and one cannot therefore exclude inclusion of such areas as were part of Chittoor at any such time.

Thus this region, as is evident, exhibits the influence of three different languages because of its situation in the immediate neighbourhood of the Tamil and Kannada regions. For eg a considerable Kannada population came and settled here as a result of the dynastic rule of the Western Gangas which is testified by a large number of Kannada inscriptions found. Similarly as a large area was part of the Pallava or Chola Kingdoms, Tamil records also exist.

Dr. Sampath is of the opinion that "For a proper understanding of the history of South

India in general the important sources... are of four categories viz. Epigraphy, Numismatics, literature and monuments. Epigraphical sources are by far the largest and most important source than the literary sources which give meagre information for the reconstruction of history... So far as the history of Chittoor is concerned, the first and the foremost and also by far the biggest among the sources are the epigraphical which are prolific, valuable and authentic. The present study is by necessity, mainly based on the verifiable information contained in the numerous stone and copper-plate inscriptions copied from this district and its adjacent territory."

The various Chapters deal with different aspects of the history of this region. To begin with the nature and value of source materials are assessed, next the antiquity of the region is traced. The three following chapters study the major and minor feudatory families because the political scene kept changing throughout the period under study because of the changes in the imperial dynasties. The author examines thereafter the Salient features of administration and attempts to assess the existing economic conditions of the region.

Discussing the latter the author analyses the economic conditions under specific headings such as Agriculture, Irrigation and Trade. As in other parts of the Country, in this region agriculture was the major profession of the people. With this were allied professions like Smithy, Carpentry, Pottery

etc and the wealthy were assessed on the basis of the Cattle they owned. In fact even wars appear to have been fought as a result of Cattle raids. Allied with agriculture was the implementation of work concerned with Irrigation without which agriculture was not possible. The entire village would thus be involved in constructing canals, dig wells, tanks and Lakes, as this region is dependent mainly on artificial irrigation systems, since it is almost without a perennial supply of water drawn from great rivers.

Again Trade, both internal and external was the other major profession although the commodities of trade were mostly agricultural produce or related produce. There is evidence that trade guilds existed and that trade flourished. In later times there is evidence found in inscriptions of several bodies of Merchant Communities who traded externally.

Throughout various other changes however the religious and social institutions continued to flourish while art, architecture, language and literature developed. Thus the growth of social and religious institutions, epigraphical language and literature are examined and studied extensively while the last section consists of a study of the development of art and architecture. Dr. Sampath's approach to the study of the history of Chittoor through the ages is erudite, comprehensive and exhaustive in detailed study. As such the book should be perused by all scholars of regional studies.



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NOTES

THE DELHI SUMMIT

The Seventh Summit of Nonaligned nations was held in India under very difficult conditions. Of primary concern was the fact that between the Havana Conference and the Delhi Summit many major disrupting events had occurred due to which discussion was apparent among these nations. For example because of the war between two member nations i.e. Iran and Iraq the Venue of the Conference had to be changed as Bagdad could not host the Conference due to Security reasons. Again several of the members had been upset by Dr. Castro's "Natural Ally" move during the Havana Conference while the split in the OPEC, not to mention that within the Organisation of African Unity aggravated the atmosphere of misunderstanding greatly. Thus it was a tribute to India that she was accepted as the unanimous alternate choice and a great responsibility was therefore undertaken by Mrs Gandhi when the Conference was hosted here. For not only did she and the Indian Diplomats have to try to solve certain outstanding problems within the movement, they also had the task of endeavouring to maintain the spirit and motivation behind the Non-aligned movement as expounded by the Founders.

World opinion has examined the 7th conference with a view to ascertain whether it really represented the nations who practice the policy of nonalignment. An appraisal of the Summit shows several points of difference between the meeting at Havana and this one. To begin with it is obvious that in spite of national positions being reiterated with contradictory emphasis by member states, ultimately the compromises accepted on most issues revealed that there was little or no deviation from the original fundamental perception of the nonaligned movement, which had a policy founded on positive factors and reasons, and the formulator of the ideology, Nehru, defined this very clearly in his speech to the U.S. Congress in 1949 when he said, "Our policy is not neutralist but one of active endeavour to preserve and if possible, establish peace on firm foundations." Non-alignment was thus a positive neutralism where a country may act independently and judge issues on their individual merits.

Certain common conditions were responsible for the founder nations coming together to formulate this policy. As far as India was concerned, during those years, non-alignment was the only rational policy for her since the newly emergent state had to face tremendous challenges related to Economic and Technological development internally, while externally she was aware of the constant dilemma of having to fall in line with one or the other of the two Super Power blocs politically. Nonalignment suited India's needs very suitably by stabilizing the diverse political forces within the country as also by furthering aid for national development from both blocs by being non-committed. Thus eg on the one hand this policy neutralized extreme leftists through the avowed anti-imperialism and non-commitment to political or military blocs of the West, while on the other, those on the extreme right were appeased by the refusal to join the Soviet bloc. Conflicting domestic interests were harmonized and this aided National integration. Between 1949 and 1983, the same reasons were true of nearly all the newly-emergent, developing or under-developed states, and for this obvious reason the movement gathered momentum throughout the years, specially in areas where these two factors existed and over the last 20 years the number of nations involved has risen from 25 to about 100.

Again it is of interest to note whether the basic principles laid down in the 1961 Conference have been changed with the years. At the Belgrade Conference Nasser, Tito and Nehru accepted certain broadly based principles such as mutual respect for each others integrity and Sovereignty, non-intervention in internal affairs, mutual benefits and peaceful Co-existence. It was

felt that countries accepting the policy of nonalignment would proceed on the assumption that with diverse traditions and different political systems, they could join each other and co-operate in the pursuit of security, mutual economic benefit and peace. Over the years however it is apparent that due to discension among members in many instances these principles have been thrown overboard. The conflict between Iran and Iraq, the split in the OPEC, the differences among the emerging African nations, the Kampuchean issue, the Afghanistan problem serve to illustrate this. Again an examination of the Havana meeting reveals that the nonaligned appears to include states which are aligned to rival power blocs in every way except in name. Dr. Castro's move to declare the USSR a "natural ally" of the movement and the counter reaction illustrated this.

The main questions that arise in connection with the Delhi Summit therefore are whether these discensions aggravated and distorted the spirit of nonalignment whether any constructive move was made towards furthering disarmament and finally, whether any new avenues of co-operation were explored for the mutual benefit of the nations concerned. For only an examination of these factors would reveal whether the Delhi Summit improved and restored the status of the nonaligned nations, in the global context, or whether in fact the relations between the nations deteriorated and the spirit of non-alignment was further impaired.

Taking these in order perhaps the question of discension is of greatest importance as this was due to national interests being emphasized. In a sense the main hurdle could have been the Kampuchian seat. Here it would not be too much to say that Indian Diplomacy was responsible largely for the dilution of tension when India

managed to put through its compromise formula at the Foreign Ministers' Conference where issues to be discussed at the Summit were actually scrutinised. Thus in fact the Kampuchean problem was not the main hurdle at the Summit.

A second conflict was over the Afghanistan question and as with the Kampuchean issue here too the declaration at the Summit does not offend either bloc particularly. Again although there is no specific mention of the Diego Garcia base in connection with the status of the Indian Ocean, a paragraph on Mauritian sovereignty includes the point by stating that a military base at Diego Garcia "endangers the Sovereignty, territorial integrity and peaceful development of Mauritius." However, it may be said that *Stotus Qus* has been maintained only and not much has been achieved.

Regarding *Disarmament*, perhaps in a sense this was the most difficult objective the movement had to face as it was not likely to be achieved without extensive struggle. But in any case a gathering of over 100 nations as perhaps the largest peace movement in the world, cannot be ignored by those who are non-members. And certainly their effect on peace movements in America and Europe is already apparent. However this still remains the greatest objective of the movement.

But the most interesting aspect of the Delhi Summit was the initiative taken to meet the Challenge of the North in the economic sphere by the South. Most of the nations in the non-aligned movement are developing countries who were "petitioners" for aid from developed countries so far. To date the various UNCTAD conferences have led to very limited benefits if any, to the developing nations.

At the Delhi Summit for the first time, several highly constructive proposals were

formulated at the initiative of members including eg Algeria, the OPEC and the ASEAN group in an attempt to restore balance to the Economic Maladies of the developing nations, particularly in connection with solving world economic problems. Indiscriminate criticism of the Developed Nations was replaced by concrete proposals at this Summit, taking into consideration collective demands of the developing world, with a view to establishing self-reliance. There was recognition of the fact that the Economics of developing countries such as eg Mexico, Yugoslavia, Argentina and Poland, have deteriorated through taking extensive loans which have not been put to sufficient productive use and have consequently not earned returns equal to the interest rate which is required to meet future repayment obligations. In this connection member nations of NAM have considered restraint on borrowing as the indebtedness of developing countries has reached a level of great magnitude. The Protectionist policy followed by the developed countries was criticised again as this has mainly resulted in exports of the debtor countries declining, thereby reducing their ability to meet interest obligations as well as repayment. Furthermore, prices of these Commodities have also declined globally and the developing countries forced to borrow more to meet debt obligations. Thus their future is very bleak facing as they do adverse terms of trade which will decline further if there is devaluation of currencies. Consequently, the great stress laid on restructuring the entire debt burden at the Delhi Summit is very timely and the debtor nations proposal for extension of time for repayment of loans revealed their desire to be "Self-reliant" and not "Pensioniers."

Taking all these factors into consideration one may conclude that three important

problems were considered and solutions suggested at the Summit. Examining these in order one may say that firstly the perusal of global Economic problems reveal that changes may again have to be made in the procedure and methodology of the IMF, which has undergone changes since Bretton Woods and may have to change its objectives and methods again in order to become an effective instrument of the international monetary system if global economic imbalance has to be eradicated. Infact the Brandt Commission has offered several good suggestions to make conditionality more flexible.

Again, to all intents and purposes, the developing Countries have accepted their responsibilities for operating within a reconstructed economic and monetary system by formulating the code of Collective Self-reliance at this Summit.

Finally, the economic proposals expounded at the Summit has set the ball rolling as far as both the North and the South are concerned. The developed nations are realising that they also have certain responsibilities and self interest in readjusting global economic maladies. For the problems they are facing such as eg Recession may turn, together with disinflation into deflation, which may lead to a world depression of great magnitude. The North has thus to think of reorganising global economic structures in its own long term interest while the South must not limit its intentions of becoming self-reliant to proposals only but also translate these into deeds.

Thus we see that the Delhi Summit contributed substantially to the interest of the Nonaligned nations in the Sphere of their Economic problems and World Economy. It also reiterated its stand on Disarmament, but was not able to provide a solution for discension between member nations such as Iran and Iraq. Nor were any positive solutions apparent as far as Afghanistan and Kampuchea were concerned. The Status Quo was maintained and to this extent the principle of peaceful coexistence has not been impaired.

TRADE DEFICIT

The latest estimate of the trade deficit in 1981-'82 is almost as large as that in the previous year not with standing the relative stability in world oil prices as also greater internal supplies of steel, cement and crude among other previously imported commodities which has resulted in reduced imports of these items. To some extent previous orders for import of these items have to be honoured and some items of foodgrains like wheat as well as suger have added to the Bill. But by and large it is the stagnation in exports which persists and which is one of the main reasons for our inability to lower the deficit.

Whether we may expect a break-through considering the general decline in world trade is a factor to investigate. Of equal importance are other factors such as protectionism in the industrial countries, payments difficulties of others when attempting to solve their debt burden while invisible earnings including remittances appear to have come to an optimum point. External borrowings are linked with stiff terms and conditions and this automatically limits financing imports by this method.

Perhaps the time has come to reconsider the existing liberalized import policy which was formulated five years ago when foreign exchange reserves were high, food imports were unnecessary and oil prices were lower. Again, side by side with our existing import policy little or no investigation has been made into Indian industry's own increasing finished products which are about to show a recessionary trend owing to competition with similar items of import. It is of great importance to promote export efforts in these areas by both the Industrialists concerned as also the Government.

One of the reasons for the lack of interest in Export Promotion is perhaps the declining world commodity prices in items like Tea, Coffee etc. However an effort should be made to balance this with export promotion of items which are not affected by recession. It is patently obvious that a more effective policy has to be evolved to deal with the perennial trade deficits as obviously what is being done now for Import Substitution and Export Promotion, has not cured the malady.

NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE AND PEACE IN PALESTINE

Dr. BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

The recent Non-Aligned Conference held in March in New Delhi, India, was dedicated to achieving human solidarity, peace, and economic and social justice to all mankind. It declared its intentions to help the Jew and Arab achieve peace in Palestine. It avowed non-involvement in power-blocks and to keep as its main creed non-violence. These principles fascinated both Superpowers, and they blessed them. President Reagan of the U.S. and Prime Minister Andropov of Russia sent letters of approval.

The new Chairman, Mrs. Indira Gandhi of India, called for greater co-operation with the advanced and less advanced countries, and among the developing lands. There were 101-member Nations present, which was significant, as the United Nations' total membership is 157 Nations.

Mrs. Gandhi stated, while accepting the Chairmanship, that the Non-Aligned Nations had no quarrel with any group of countries, and spoke out against injustices. She said life on earth may be annihilated due to an accidental nuclear war, and that the world was tottering on the brink of economic collapse. She asserted that development and independence, disarmament and peace were closely related, and queried whether there could be peace alongside nuclear weapons. The Superpowers and others spend a greater part of their national income on armaments, while greater part of mankind lives in illiteracy poverty, and consequent misery.

On the Palestine problem, the 101 Members devoted much time in individual and group discussions on how to bring peace in

the Middle East, where the two ancient, brotherly races were battling to control this ancient land. They recognised that the Jews, Muslims and Christians had been living together as brothers, until 1948. With the creation of Israel, a vicious circle of hate and fear spread throughout the area, although all can live in peace and harmony.

The Non-Aligned Movement recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole bargaining agent of the Palestinian people, whether Christian or Muslim. Thus, the P.L.O. was recognized as a member of the Non-Aligned Movement, as the sole representative of the Palestinian Arabs. The Conference, while applauding President Reagan's Peace Proposals, mentioned that they did not meet the national hopes and aspirations of the Palestinian Arabs, who want a Sovereign State established in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The Conference recommended that Israel be called upon to move back to its 1967 boundaries as requested in the U.N. Resolution 242, among others. These would meet the Arab declarations at Fez, Morocco and Algiers.

The Non-Aligned Conference further recommended a round-table conference of the nations of the area: Lebanon, Syria, Israel, and Jordan, summoned by the Superpower America, with possibly the Superpower Russia, invited. When a comprehensive peace plan can be worked out, all Israeli troops should be withdrawn from all Arab lands, when Syria also should comply. The Golan Heights should be returned to Syria, and all Israeli borders should then be guar-

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anted and supervised by a U.N. International Peace Force. Now that the Palestine Liberation Organisation has rejected President Reagan's Peace Plan, there is no alternative but to accept the peace plan of the Non-Aligned Conference.

The main reason why the Palestinian Liberation Organisation's chief, Yassar Arafat rejected President Reagan's Peace Plan is that the Palestinians want a Sovereign State. They would not like to be on the one side under the political control of King Hussein, and on the other under the military heel of Israel as an occupying power. Israel has occupied Arab territories for over 15 years, which violates International law. Thus, division of old British-mandated Palestine into two Jewish, and a Muslim-Christian state is inevitable.

As the Jews (Zionists) are suffering from rationalism, so are the Arabs and other nations of the world. U Thant stated, while he was the U.N. Secretary-General, that narrow nationalism was one of the prime obstacles to world peace, and he often chastised members of the United Nations for jealously guarding their sovereign rights to the detriment of the common good of the international community. So, nationalism is playing havoc in human relations; no wonder it has proved disastrous in the Middle East. Before the creation of Israel, the Jew and Arab lived in peace, harmony and brotherhood in Palestine for centuries; then, why not today?

The Non-Aligned Movement recognizes a basic way to bring peace in the Middle East by recognising the Palestinian rights to a homeland, or there can never be peace in the Middle East. Until this matter is equably settled and the honor and self-respect of the Arabs upheld, the Middle East will remain a powder-keg. This should be done as soon as possible, as Western influence, particularly that of America, will erode in the Middle East, the Islamic world, and even in Hindu-Buddhist Asia. Already the Western powers are not wanted in Persia, and Afghanistan

has been occupied wantonly by Russia.

The Non-Aligned leaders felt that the argument that Israel should have defensible boundaries is not valid in this atomic and jet age. It is just an excuse for the Zionists to continue to occupy Arab lands in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, captured in the 1967 War, and violating International Law by continuing to occupy these lands, and humiliating the Palestinian Arabs. Some lands have even been forcibly annexed to Israel, which is illegal, according to Pundits at the United Nations. This is denial of human rights; when an occupational force tries to perpetuate itself indefinitely, trampling the freedom and human dignity of the subjugated people.

The feelings of hate and fear should be replaced with love, compassion, and accommodation of each other on the part of the Jews and Arabs in Palestine as a prelude to peace. If the P.L.O. and Israeli leaders will make the attempt to meet and accommodate one another, peace is possible. Like the great Sadat, perhaps Yasser Arafat, the PLO leader, could go to Jerusalem and meet Mr. Begin, Israel's Premier, and embrace each other, and try to create peace in this area.

The hands of all the leaders of Palestine, whether Jews or Arabs, are now bloodstained. This period of hate and distrust has to stop, and mutual trust and goodwill should be re-established, as Mr. Sadat did between Egypt and Israel. The time has arrived for such a move on the part of all Jews and Arabs.

Chancellor Kreisky of Austria, a Jew and former Nazi victim, condemned Israeli expansionism as morally naked; the Pope received Arafat, the P.L.O. leader, pointing to the sympathy of mankind to the Arab cause. It is for Israel to ponder over the consequences of these actions.

The Buddha said, over 2500 years ago, that to achieve a real victory, all sides should feel victorious. That means that there should be justice and fair play to all to bring in real peace now, in the Middle East, or in any other part of the world, in the future.

EUROCENTRISM IN HISTORY: A STUDY IN ENTRENCHED ATTITUDES

BURJOR JAL AVARI
AND
GEORGE JOSEPH

The resurgence of the political Right in Britain, with its emphasis on patriotism and national glory, is bound to have an impact on education. The teaching of history, for example, particularly in schools, is set to become an acute bone of contention between the warring factions of historians led by their respective protagonists. The battles will be joined by the left and the right, the traditionalists and the progressives, the "patriotic men" and the multi-culturalists.¹ It is quite likely that a compromise will eventually be reached on the content and style of history teaching. But while the debate lasts there will be much sound and fury spread across the pages of learned journals² and quality newspapers, with some likelihood of stark contributions in popular newspapers and the broadcasting media. How real and comprehensive will this debate be? At a certain level, i.e. at the level of implicit assumptions, it will hardly be a meaningful debate, because all protagonists are likely, from the start, to have accepted certain preconceptions and value-judgements that they may not even be consciously aware of. These, in our opinion, are what we call the assumptions of European

ethnocentricity-or Eurocentrism. We have written this paper in the hope that the deeply-set and ingrained features of Eurocentricity should be considered as important parameters in any discussion of how history should be taught.

It was just a point of coincidence that, while writing this paper, Paul Johnson published his large volume on *A History of the Modern World: from 1912 to 1980s*.³ Although he is not a "professional" historian, we were aware of his considerable influence as a columnist and author on the intelligentsia in this country. Moreover, as one of the first of the New Right converts, we felt that his perception of recent history had an important bearing on the attempts by them to alter the style and content of school history. Johnson's book was a great revelation; it confirmed all our suspicions about the pervasive nature of European ethnocentricity. We have, therefore, decided to use his book to illustrate our arguments.

* * *

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Not many years ago in Colonial Kenya, from where we originate, history in secondary schools meant only one thing—British Empire History. In a school curriculum where geography went little beyond the study of the British Isles, and literature dealt either with esoteric poems about the Daffodil and the Village Graveyard or with novels describing intricacies of middle class life in Victorian England as exemplified by Jane Austen, history could have offered an international flavour. Instead, the history taught had certain distinctly chauvinistic characteristics. It was a history deeply imbued with a strong sense of the civilising mission of the British Raj; a history that only began with the British presence in far-flung countries around the world; and a history that lauded the efforts of empire builders such as Cecil Rhodes and Robert Clive, while at the same time denigrating (or more often ignoring) the resistance put up by the Zulu warrior Dabulamanzi or the Xhosa leader Makana and the struggle for Indian independence led by Rani of Jhansi or Mahatma Gandhi. Clearly, the function of colonial education was not to increase our awareness of ourselves and our surroundings but to impress our receptive young minds with the awesomeness and totality of the power of Pax Britannica. As an exercise in social engineering, colonial education was consistent and even effective. But for a long time we believed that the perpetrators of this exercise, while clear about their objectives, did not believe that what they preached was good education. We are no longer confident that this is so. For behind the beliefs and thoughts of a number of British educators is a view of the world that can best be described as Eurocentric which is well exemplified in the writings of many European intellectuals. It is the characteristics and

the assumptions of the European ethnocentrists that we will discuss first.

The terms "ethnic pride" and "ethnocentrism" are not interchangeable; they need to be distinguished carefully. To have pride in one's culture and traditions is a universal phenomenon, often providing a sense of group identity, necessary for social living. Ethnic pride is a matter of strong feeling and impulse, found in varying degrees among nations and cultural groups within nations. It reflects the rich varieties of culture. The world would be a less colourful and interesting place without cultural diversity.

Ethnocentrism, on the other hand, is quite different. Unlike ethnic pride, it is rarely a collective phenomenon. It is, in most cases, an individual attribute. No entire tribe or nation can be described as ethnocentric, because not all individuals within that polity would feel anything more than a legitimate pride in their customs and traditions. But there will be a few who, through ethnic or cultural arrogance, succumb to ethnocentricity. This takes two forms. In an active form, it would involve the imposition of one's cultural and religious mores on people with different ethnic traditions and values, on the basis of arrogating moral and intellectual superiority for one's culture. Empire builders and Christian missionaries have in different ways exemplified this form of ethnocentrism.

There is also a passive form of ethnocentrism, which involves a conscious (or subconscious) devaluation of other ethnic cultures apart from one's own, either by ignoring their very existence or dismissing them as anachronistic, irrelevant and unproductive or interpreting them from the

vantage point of one's own ideology or value systems. Where this form of ethnocentricity is widespread among influential people and opinion formers such as politicians, journalists, teachers or historians, the effect on the rest of the population could be far-reaching. And if for reasons of economic and technological superiority, a state of international dependency operates, then ethnocentricity has even wider ramifications. This serves as one reason for studying white ethnocentrism, or Eurocentrism.

Ethnocentrism among whites has certain unique features. Its intensity and depth are of a most advanced and subtle kind. It has been crystallised and made intellectually respectable to a degree unknown in man's history. During the last five centuries, European power and European might have served to stimulate the ethnocentric tendencies of European intellectuals, and particularly their historians. The commanding superiority of Europe in the fields of commerce, politics and technology places Eurocentrism in a class and category of its own, far more strident, more calculating and more cutting in its effect, more hurtful and offensive in its expression, or in other words, more perverse and dangerous than that of any other group in the world.

Eurocentrism cuts across nations and political ideologies of the white world. White people live in nations of all sizes, having different political organisations and ideologies, varying from communism to capitalism, and having different social structures and multiple ethnicities, often warring among themselves (as witness the wars in Europe over two millennia of history). But notwithstanding these differ-

ences, a common thread running through European ethnocentricity is a set of assumptions about the non-white world. These assumptions are best examined in the light of the Eurocentric perception and treatment of the non-whites.

A Eurocentrist has an abiding perception of the unique worthiness of the European personality, which is attributed to the Gracceo-Roman Christian heritage. This personality is viewed as the culmination of civilisation built on this heritage. Therefore the non-white is, at best, unoriginal or imitative and, at worst, perverse and unproductive. Eurocentrism above all implies the intellectual moral and aesthetic superiority of the European mind. It both explicitly and implicitly denigrates non-white cultures, except where those cultures have adapted sufficiently to be clearly recognisable in the European mould.

Given the belief in the unique worthiness of the European personality the Eurocentrist applies a different yardstick to the use of naked power and aggression in subduing (or even eliminating) non-whites to secure a larger global share of material benefits and resources. Eurocentrists generally have produced elaborate rationales for imperialism, based on the need to treat non-whites differently from their kind. Thus certain British historians have written at large on why India had to be held down to help the Indians;⁵ and the slave owners used to argue that the slave trade benefited both the areas from which the slaves originated and the slaves themselves.⁶ Eurocentrists have often shown impatience with those colonial subjects who pointed out the contradiction inherent in defending colonialism and championing

democracy; they see no contradiction, since hallowed concepts such as liberty or democracy are but products of the European genius and do not, in their eyes, apply to other groups.⁷

If aggressiveness towards non-whites has been one face of Eurocentrism, charity has been the other. The former may be described as the malevolent face, the other the benign. For the non-whites, both are familiar aspects of the European ethnocentricity. Charity begins at home, and the charity of the Mediaeval church for the sick and the poor of Europe was, for example, wholly desirable and worthy. Unfortunately, in their dealings with the non-whites, the churches showed little sense of altruism or generosity of spirit. No charity, for example, was particularly evident in the Iberian missionary efforts in dealing with the "heathens" of South America. Religious conversion and social conformity were the price demanded for any help given, which once more re-affirmed the intrinsic worthiness of the European values and the short-comings of the non-European. And although more modern Europe based Christian charities no longer openly trade in conversion, their message which comes across from pulpits and advertisement posters is the same: that charity is a particular christian virtue that the non-christians need in abundance. This could be both degrading and humiliating for the non-christian. Particularly when it is so manifestly untrue, since probably every religion emphasizes charity as a cardinal virtue; when it is so hypocritical, since it enables the acceptance of global inequalities with an easy conscience; and so ineffective since charity is no solution to the deep-seated social and economic problems that the recipients may be facing.

This brings us to another characteristic of the Eurocentrist: an inability to understand the historical and the socio-psychological roots which have conditioned the thought process, life-style and behaviour patterns of non-whites. The belief in the superiority of European culture is so total, so taken for granted and so unreserved, that it inevitably leads to a blinkered view of what constitutes normal and abnormal behaviour. Thus the vast majority of Eurocentric anthropologists purport to "study" native tribes only because the latter's behaviour is considered odd or unusual and therefore in need of researching; rarely, however, do we come across anthropologists who study other groups so that they may get a better understanding of the "abnormalities" present in their own cultures.⁸ If perception is the key to relationships, it is unlikely that there could exist a healthy relationship between Eurocentrists and the non-white majority of mankind, since the former's perception of the latter's culture is rooted in a form of mental, spiritual and ideological parochialism. Humour, gaiety, eccentricity, joy, sorrow, ritual, sacrifice, or any other human quality; the Eurocentrist finds difficulty in empathising with the non-white variants of such qualities. His perception is born out of the intolerant strains within the sources of the European traditions, and an unclear understanding of their limitations.

These sources nurture Eurocentrism, while they reveal its flaws. The first is the Gracco-Roman heritage. To the Eurocentrist, this heritage seems to be the starting point of all wisdom. He has difficulty in acknowledging mankind's rich heritage prior to and apart from the Mediterranean traditions. Further, he shows little understanding of the intellectual debt owed by the Greeks and

the Romans to other civilisations far and near, with the possible exception of Egypt. The assumptions of cultural superiority held by the Eurocentrists derive from their belief in the utter originality of the Graeco-Roman cultures, a notion difficult to sustain in the light of other research.⁹

The second source is Judaeo-Christian. Until very recently, the Judaic half of the tradition was only grudgingly acknowledged by the Eurocentrists,¹⁰ although since the rise of Communism,¹¹ both are given almost equal share among the factors shaping the Western world. The inherent contradictions within this dual religious tradition are reflected in the ambiguities and dilemmas which the Eurocentrist finds difficult to reconcile. Thus in European Law "an eye" for an eye" dictum stands contrary to the "other cheek" blandishment; and while Christianity claims to be a universal religion, the practice of Judaism is confined to a "chosen" people.

The third source of the Eurocentrist attitudes springs from the Mediaeval and post-Mediaeval times; i.e. the rise of the European kingship and the ideas of nationhood. All the trappings of European nationalisms have their origin in the innumerable struggles of princes and potentates in search of territories and power during the Mediaeval period. While on the one hand the Eurocentrist basks in the glories of Rome, on the other hand he is too set within the bounds of his narrow and particular nationalism to fight for a genuine universal empire like the Roman Empire aspired to be.

The fourth source is the scientific-nationalist

revolution of the 17th, 18th and the 19th centuries. Although the spirit of inquiry, search for truth and the pursuit of reason were worthy aims in themselves, their consequences have not always benefited the non-white world. Geographical discoveries led to colonialism; the theory of Evolution led to Social Darwinism, and modern technology led to the destruction of traditional skills and crafts. While greater knowledge was acknowledged by Socrates to have only made him more humble, it had the opposite effect on European ethnocentricity—a contempt for the rest of mankind.

Imperialism is one more source of Eurocentric ideas and tendencies. Without imperialism there are only the less injurious forms of ethnocentricity, e. g. self-righteous aggressiveness, cultural arrogance, parochialism and "holier than thou" charity assumptions—but it is through imperialism that Eurocentrism has come to assume extreme forms, such as racism, destructive proselytisation and political subjugation. Imperialism make European ethnocentricity particularly dangerous and perverse, because global white dominance has been translated into the conviction that European values, European culture, European philosophy and European political ideas and practices are the best and would eventually prevail elsewhere.¹²

There is yet another curious twist in the post-imperial situation. A paradoxical feature of the Eurocentric paradigm is that while the non-white is not considered an equal, the belief persists that there can be only one valid world view. The world is either divided into free world versus communist tyranny or capitalist

socialist democracies. Few issues have been as contentious since the Second World War as the nature of the alignment of the newly independent so-called Third World countries between the two power blocs which are invested with ethical attributes of good and evil. Aid and subversion have been used as means of achieving the desired realignment if necessary.¹³ And non-alignment was seen by the Americans and their allies, at least in the earlier years, as tantamount to choosing the other bloc. A similar pressure from the Communists did not exist to the same extent after Stalin: the later Soviet leaders took a more pragmatic view on the extent of commitment that they could expect from the Third World.

To many Third World countries, the presence of the Communist bloc was a matter of some comfort. The Soviet Union, China and other communist countries provided material assistance to national liberation movements in Rhodesia, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau and Vietnam; they kept in check expansionist ambitions on the part of the United States and her allies in the Middle East and Latin America. A Eurocentrist would find it difficult to envisage this important role of the Communist bloc in protecting vulnerable countries scattered in Africa, Middle East and Asia from Western interests, though he is acutely sensitive to the threat posed by communists to these countries. Eurocentricity is seen here as the overriding need to reduce non-Europeans to membership of ideological power groups or social classes which are products of European history and experience, without considering their relevance or usefulness to non-Europeans.

(To be Continued)

REFERENCE

1. See Martin Walker's articles in *The Guardian* of June 20 and 21, 1983.
2. The debates concerning the rise of the gentry in the 17th-century Britain or the benefits of the Industrial Revolution to the working classes are but two of the recent examples of the heat generated in historical controversies.
3. Published by Weidenfeld and Nicholson (1983).
4. By the white world, we mean the peoples who either originate from Europe (including European Russia) or those who derive their ethnic and cultural roots from there. Apart from the oriental and African Jews, we consider all other Jews and Israelis as white.
5. And not just British historians. One of the present authors recalls, from his secondary school days in Kenya, a book about the British Empire written by a Gujarati, in which the famous saying concerning the sun never setting in the empire was neatly explained both in its literal and metaphorical connotations, in the Gujarati language.
6. "And now the happy Negro homeward goes,
Contented as the honey-laden bee,
Because his heart no earthly sorrow knows.
Deluded sons of Britain !
Would that ye,
The proud, the brave, the omnipotent,
The free,
Behold him seated at his ample meal,
With all his children smiling at his knee !
Then would ye know the nature of his weal,

And honestly confirm, the truth of this appeal."

The Jamaica Monthly Magazine (October 1833)

7. It is interesting, in this context, that while proportional representation on the basis of the ethnic origin is perfectly acceptable in Zimbabwe, it would be opposed vehemently in Britain.
8. British anthropology was, and still is, the product of colonialism. Its purpose was to facilitate British administration and control. And this was best achieved by the maintenance of traditional societies by anthropologically informed wardship. But the value of the wardship was always subordinate to the demands of the colonial power for cheap labour and scarce natural resources—demands that served as a *raison d'être* for disrupting traditional cultures. It is interesting that from the ranks of anthropologists in South Africa have arisen the ideologists of "separate" development, just as the anthropology combined with Social Darwinism provided among the first racist ideologies in this country. For a useful discussion of the role of anthropologists as an academic arm of colonialism, see *Colonialism and Change* (ed.) M. Owusu (Mouton, 1975). The unholy mixture of Anthropology and Social Darwinism that provided the intellectual basis of racist ideologies during the latter part of the nineteenth century is well discussed in J. Walwin's *Black and White: The Negro in Britain 1555-1945* (Allen Lane, 1973).
9. There is little documentary evidence of the Indian influence on Greek thought. However, strong circumstantial evidence exists of a close and continuous contact between the two civilisations over the period from the third to sixth centuries before Christ. Greek traditions indicate that Thales and Empedocles definitely visited the Orient; and some historical evidence exists that Pythagoras, Anaxarchus and Pyrrho travelled to and spent some time in India. Similarities between Plato's ideas and certain features of Hindu mystical thought have prompted some writers to deduce that Plato may have visited India as a young man. While there is some recognition of the influence of Egypt on Greece in the fields of mathematics, astronomy, medicine, architecture, music and literature, the African foundation of the Egyptian legacy hardly rates a mention. For a useful discussion of Indian influence on Western philosophy and science, see D.P. Singhal, *India and World civilisation*, 2 Vols. (Sidgwick and Jackson 1972); and for the African imprint on world history, see G. Mokhtar (ed.), *General History of Africa*, vol. II (Heinemann UNESCO Series, 1981).
10. Anti-Semitism, in fact, has been one of the chief characteristics of the most extreme of the European ethnocentrists, those who are popularly known as the racists.
11. The feelings of guilt about the Nazi holocaust and a paranoic obsession with Communism have led to such curious moral ambiguities, such as when the Eurocentrists are prepared to countenance the growing relationship between Israel and South Africa.
12. European imperialism was not confined to just the traditional Western varieties. The Russian expansion in Central Asia and in the Far East provides even a worse example of cultural imperialism.
13. As, for example, Allende's Chile, Shah's Iran or Nkrumah's Ghana.

WAGE GOODS SECTOR : PRIORITY INVESTMENT URGED :

Dr. B. R. S. GUPTA

Dr. Alain De Janvry, Professor of Economics, at the University of California, Berkeley cautioned India against giving high investment priority to the export sector luxury consumer industries. Investment in these industries, to ease the problem of industrial stagnation it has been facing since the mid-sixties, would be both unstable and socially inequitable, as the Latin American experience has shown. India should invest in the wage goods, producing sectors most particularly through public investment in irrigation in the poorer states of the country. It should also enhance effective demand for wage goods, principally by letting food prices fall in relation to productivity gains in agriculture. Janvry, an expert in Latin American economic development was delivering the Fourth Silver Jubilee lecture of the Institute of Economic Growth. In India, the industrial growth rate has been generally slow and decelerating during the last 20 years, although it has been steadier than that of Latin American countries. It has also been sharply uneven between sectors. The productivity gains in agriculture resulting from the Green Revolution have not been translated into significant effective demand creation for wage goods. This has been either because productivity gains were insufficient 'at an aggregate level', or because foodgrain prices were not allowed to fall in relation to productivity gains. Needless to add, this (lack of effective demand for wage

goods) resulted in a modest growth performance of wage goods producing industries. Export for a few products, high growth promoted on an export-led basis has not been adopted owing to the general lack of competitiveness of the Indian industry. However, the high growth rate of the luxury goods sector (11.5% annually) indicates the emergence of a 'disarticulated growth pattern', stimulated in particular by the higher incomes of the farmers who captured the gains of the green revolution. Performance of the luxury goods sector has, however, been limited by decelerating public investment in infrastructure and energy, a poor performance of the capital goods sector, licensing controls and monopoly power. Under the 'disarticulated growth pattern', growth is based on cheap labour, increasing inequality in the distribution of income to enhance both investment and luxury consumption and it has usually been accompanied with authoritarian forms of government.

Needless to add, the 'Brazilian miracle' under the military (1964-79) is a typical example of luxury-led disarticulation, while the Chilean neo-liberal model under General Pinochet (1973-84) is an example of exported disarticulation. In both cases, growth had been eventually spectacular but highly unstable and had led to a sharp worsening in income inequalities.

SOME SOCIO-RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF THE TRIBAL PEOPLE OF WEST BENGAL

GOPINATH SEN

The Tribal people of West Bengal imbibed their socio-religious ideas from their forefathers who came from the different primitive (both ethnic and linguistic) groups such as Proto-Australoid, Mongoloid, Austric and Sino-Tibetan. Tribal religion is an essential part of their culture which has got magical manifestation but symbolic communication in the structural behaviour of the entire ethnic group. Tribal people evoked their socio-religious ideas through their myths and rituals. The socio-religious aspect is being divided as follows : (i) Animism (ii) Magic (iii) Taboo and Totemism (iv) Nature and Astral worship and (v) Ancestor and Spirit worship.

It is known, the Santals, that the Oraons, the Mundas, the Rabhas, the Nomadic Bihors, the Savars and the Lepchas are the followers of Animism. The idea of Animism is still cloudy among sophisticated folk. They think that Animists are connected with the worship of inanimate and lifeless objects which have no connection with spiritualism, superidealism and mysticism. In 1871 E.B. Tylor emphasised that 'Animism in the narrower sense is the theory of psychic concepts and in the wider sense of Spiritual beings in general. Animatism, the Animation theory of seemingly inanimate nature, is a further subdivision which also included animatism

and animism. The name animism, formerly applied to a definite philosophic system seems to have acquired its present meaning." The tribal people think that natural surroundings help them to get their health, wealth as well as growth of the mind and body. Their philosophy of nature seems far less striking to us because we ourselves are not yet far enough removed from it, though we have greatly limited the existence of spirits and to-day explain the processes of nature by the assumption of impersonal physical forces. The tribal people believe in animation. A brief socio-religious survey of the tribal animists i.e. those who are in the tribal community of West Bengal are given as follows :—

- (a) The religion of the Santals is Animism
- (b) Oraons practise a mixed religion of Hinduism and Animism.
- (c) The Mundas are Animists. They claim to a higher religion of a monotheistic type.
- (d) Rabhas are those who are living in the forest ; they practise Animism.
- (e) Savars still have their animistic beliefs and practices.
- (f) Hos are the followers of animism.
- (g) The Lepchas are animist. They believe

that God is almighty (Ramder) who does good for the people.

The animist tribal people believe that the souls are the bearers of spiritual activities. The conception of soul to the tribal people or animistic soul, determinates its mobility, its faculty of leaving the body and permanently or temporarily taking possession of another body. According to the animistic school of anthropology the concept of soul is the foundation of religion throughout archaic society. There is hardly any primitive group which does not possess this elementary idea. The soul is commonly believed to have ether-eal existence. The Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend has also defined three principal forms of belief in animism (a) Belief in and worship of the spirits or souls of men and animals, living or dead, especially necrolatry and ancestor worship, the worship of the souls of the dead ; (b) belief in spirits not definitely connected with physical objects (c) belief in and worship of spirits residing in objects. An eminent anthropologist M.M. Basu described the concept of soul of the tribal people of West Bengal. He said 'the Oraons believe the soul to resemble a shadow which is lighter and more tangible. A similar idea also prevails among the nomadic Birhor hunters. Among the Mundas after cremation of a corpse, a small human effigy is made with tender grass and placed on a figure drawn with parched rice on the ground. This effigy represents the soul of the deceased. The Mundas believe like the Hindus in the reincarnation of soul on the basis of action. They also practise their tradition of calling back of the soul ceremony which is called Umlul-ur-ader. Among the Kharias, however there is a belief that Jiom or immaterial soul goes to the under world and joins the father while the

Chhain (Shade) is enshrined at home. The Lepchas believe in existence of two souls, one 'Apil' and the other 'Mak-Nyam.' The former one lives in the world but cannot move to heaven or hell while the latter has the freedom of moving.

It is a belief of the tribal people that the soul which never dies, as higher philosophy calls it, is eternal. The great Sage Sri Ramkrishna said 'Soul never dies which goes from one body to another body.' The tribals have no concept of heaven or hell. The soul is called back to join the ancestral spirits in the sacred domestic tabernacles. The soul turns into a malevolent spirit only in the case of an unnatural death. There is a belief in re-incarnation and transmigration of souls into various forms of life, namely, trees, birds, animals, etc. But there is no connection between ethical action and the form of re-incarnation. The concept of re-incarnation is not arranged in an ascending hierarchy of superior forms of life (as traditionally determined) nor is re-incarnation considered inevitable.

Primitive people have an idea that all their worldly objects are subjected by the spirits and super-powers from which they evolve magico-religious ideas but pre-animistic religion has differentiated magic and religion. In the primitive society there are two types of magic i.e., black and white. Black magic is evil for it calls into play unsanctioned forces and beings, or it aims at illness, death, injury or other uncountenanced effects. White magic performs cures or wonders without the invocation of dark powers, astrology, alchemy legerdemaine, the doctrine of signatures and the like are all classified as white magic.

In folktales it is found that the man who

sells his soul to the Devil in return for the Devil's aid is a practitioner of black-magic; The hero who is given special powers by a grateful animal is not considered a magician or a practitioner of white magic. Sigmund Freud said "Magic, the technique of animism, clearly and unmistakably shows the tendency of forcing the laws of psychic life, upon the reality of things, under conditions where spirits did not yet have to play any role and could still be taken as objects of magic treatment. The assumptions of magic are of an older religion than the spirit theory which forms the nucleus of animism. Magic still retains the full omnipotence of ideas; animism has ceded part of this omnipotence to spirits and thus has started on the way to form a religion. Tribals of West Bengal have got a firm conviction that the supernatural powers act within their body. They can mould men and nature according to their will power. The witch, witch doctors, sorcerers and magicians depend on socio-religious phenomena with their black art or magic. But they also secure good will from the spirits for good luck in crops, for cattle, health and progeny. Through the magico-religious powers the tribal people can create good weather, rain and remove bad conditions of their environment. They learn magico-religious art from a very early age. The Oraons and Korwa magicians or Matis, Medicine men or Gunins are used to doing functions in both the spheres. Generally they perform these functions from their boyhood for which they have to undergo an elaborate training programme under the guidance of a Guru who trains them in necessary rites and penance,

incantations and spells and also teaches them the technique of the magic art, the methods of treatment of diseases and spirit possession etc. They not only perform divination but also can neutralise the ill effects of the evil eye and exorcise and pacify different types of spirits with offerings and sacrifices etc.

The tribal people believe that these socio-magical rites protect them from the ill fates, spirits and bad weather. Magico-religious practices are performed by the animistic tribal people of West Bengal. Among the tribal people the magico-religious arts and paintings are in vogue. During the Santal rebellion and also in some calamities the Santals used to paint human figures with cowdung and clay outside every house to keep away misfortune from the village. They think at this time a fearful Bonga wanders from village to village. The witchcraft among the Santals is still playing a stimulating role in some parts of West Bengal. The Janguru or Gunin is an institution in himself. He would convince the villagers that witches are responsible for their sufferings. The Santals believe in innocuous ganakder or white witch or folksin. The folksins, gunins, ganakdars and ojhas belong to the same ilk. Although witches are becoming scarce at present due to the awakening of village women but the old dogmatic Santal women think that folksins could do considerable harm to any man or woman. The witch can move from one village to another village without anybody's notice. She knows spells by which they are able to suck blood, emaciate their victims bodies and drive people crazy. The witch women could only harm the Santals not others. The Santals

have developed the ability to identify malevolent witches like 'Sunum Nel' or Telkhari in order to create faith among their fellow tribesmen. Also the Santals maintain the Billaḥa (Ex-ommunication) and the Gira (message or call) as their socio-religious prohibitions.

The Oraons of West Bengal have Dala or Witch who exert her magic powers and she knows lots of spells for causing harm to the person. Similarly Matis or Gunins are dexterous in the Black Arts. They claim that any animal would die suddenly through their various magical arts. The magical rites are also performed by the Rabhas. They have a number of socio-religious ceremonies in order to get rid of diseases, calamities and mishaps.

There are many magical rites being performed by most of the tribal people in West Bengal. During illness the Munda villagers at first consult the Medicine Men or the Deonas who prescribe medicinal herbs or roots, apply magical puffs or ask the patient to promise to offer a fowl or goat to the deities.

In this connection magico-religious arts of the tribal people played a most significant role. The Bhumij artists used to paint the Jadu-Pats for the Santals in order to appease their deceased. They believe that through these arts the soul of the dead would get peace in heaven. Thus magico-religious arts still survive even to the present day.

In the socio-religious aspect of the tribal people, the totem and taboo have played a significant role. However, taboo restrictions are different from religious or moral prohibitions. It is called the oldest unwritten code of law. The totem is a religious as well as a social system. It is like the

Hindu Gotra so tribal people obey the totemic system within their own clans. They would never marry in their totem clan and such restrictions are very rigid among the Santals, the Mundas and other tribal communities of West Bengal. It is known to all that totemism is the system which takes the place of religion among some tribal people. In 1869 MacLennan drew general interest to the phenomena of Totemism. In the year 1900, S. Rainach wrote 'Gode du Totemisme'. He has described Totemism as follows:—

- (a) Certain animals must not be killed or eaten but men must bring up individual animals of these species and take care of them.
- (b) An animal that dies accidentally is mourned and buried with the same honours as a member of the tribe.
- (c) The prohibition as to eating sometimes refers only to a certain part of the animal.
- (d) If pressure of necessity compels the killing of an animal usually spared, it is done with apologies to the animal and an attempt is made to mitigate the violation of the taboo, namely the 'killing' through various tricks and evasions.
- (e) If the animal is sacrificed by ritual, it is solemnly mourned.
- (f) At specified solemn occasions, like religious ceremonies, the skins of certain animals are donned. When totemism still exists, these are totem animals.
- (g) Tribes and individuals assume the names of totem animals.
- (h) Many tribes use pictures of animals

as coats of arms and decorate their weapons with them : the men paint animal pictures on their bodies or have them tattooed.

- (i) If the totem is one of the feared and dangerous animals it is assumed that the animal will spare the members of the tribe named after it.
- (j) The totem animal protects and warns the members of the tribe.
- (k) The totem animal foretells the future to those faithful to it and serves as their leader.
- (l) The members of a totem tribe often believe that they are connected with the totem animal by the bond of common origin.

In West Bengal it is seen that the Rabhas of Jalpaiguri and Coochbehar districts are divided into a number of totemic exogamous clans. Like all other tribal people, persons belonging to a particular clan would never hurt or eat the animal or plant whose name is borne by the clan.

Regarding taboos of the Garos in West Bengal it is found that they do not keep cows because they do not drink milk which they regard as an excrement. There are many tribes and subtribes in West Bengal who have a well marked totemistic organisation. Totem name for these people have generally been taken from different animals, plants etc. They reckon their descent through the male line like different tribal groups. The Kharias of Bankura used to observe a number of restrictions and prohibitions regarding totemic objects.

In this connection the totem animals and trees are seen in the Bratakatha or the Rituals of the Bengalee Hindus. They think the

spirits of gods and goddesses would exert their spiritual forces. As for example owl is for the Goddess Lakshmi, serpents represent Manasa, the Serpent Goddess. Ducks are connected with the Goddess Subachuni, while Cats are connected with Sasthi, the Goddess of children. Also trees like Banyan (Bat), Peepul (Aswatha), Basil (Tulsi) and many other trees are interlinked with socio-religious activities of the Hindu village folk. The Santals also worship their deities Jaherera, Turukongako and Marang Buru at the foot of Ashan, Sal and Mohua trees which is called the Jahirsthan. By maintaining this sort of socio-religious ritual they have developed some sort of norms and value in the life pattern of themselves.

Ancestor worship is one of the most important socio-religious customs among the tribal and non-tribal people in this region. The obsequial rites (Sradh) offerings to the deceased (Tarpan) and many other activities are connected in both the societies. The Hindus worship their ancestors during the Sradh ceremony after ten, fifteen and thirty days respectively according to their caste system and as well as during the Mahalya or beginning of the Durga Puja, a great Autumn festival of the Hindus. The Hos, Kora of Purulia, the Sauria Pahria and many other tribal people worship their ancestors for their safety and prosperity.

From time immemorial mankind worships the Sun, the Moon and other Planets with fearful devotion so the tribals are not an exception from nature and astral worship. The Animist tribals like the Hos, the Malpaharias, the Mundas, the Nagesius of Jalpaiguri worship the Sun.

The Totos who are a small tribal community in West Bengal have got their various

socio-religious customs. The Totos perform many village festivals annually and besides, there are quite a large number of family festivals. During each of the above festivals they offer fowls and pigs to their deities.

In conclusion it could be said that the socio-religious system of the tribal people is being rapidly changed for the following reasons :

- (1) The old system of their social life is affected due to the deforestation with an introduction of town and new village life.
- (2) The tribal people are now being habituated with a scientific and technical educational system.
- (3) The traditional places of worship of the tribal people are now being effected due to industrialisation.
- (4) Due to the modernisation of Indian life and culture, the tribal people do not like to hold their age-old socio-religious system.

It is true that under the above circumstances new cultural vistas are being opened to them. But at the same time this will be responsible for the loss of one of the most interesting cultural streams in the socio-religious heritage of the tribal peoples.

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CORRUPTION IN PUBLIC LIFE

BIBHUTI BHUSAN BOSE,

The sublimity, the simplicity, and the profundity of the social laws of the Indian have drawn unstinted praise from the best brains of the world. Romain Rolland, the great thinker of the West, after considering all aspects of Indian civilisation remarked :

"India's calm and ample metaphysics, her conception of the Universe, her social organisation- the solution she has given to the problem of women, the family, love and of marriage, the magnificent revelation of her Art are indeed grand."

Colonel Sleeman, Magistrate of Jubbulpore, said 'I have before me hundreds of instances where the life, honour, property and anything that a man holds dear depended upon his telling a lie but a Hindu will never tell a lie.

This was the condition of India before the achievement of independence in August, 1947. But since then the situation has changed. To-day, corruption, favouritism, nepotism, jobbery and all sorts of malpractices are prevalent in our society. A Newspaper of our country wrote "Everybody knows that corruption in its broad sense has gripped most of our leaders". 'Time', an esteemed journal of U.S.A., wrote in its issue of August, 1973.

"Government officials from the highest to the lowest levels in India had become unashamedly corrupt. It now takes bribes to get a child into school, to get a milk-card, even to get a long distance railway

ticket.....India is suffering from a nationwide sense of depression, frustration and malaise".

People may ask what is the meaning of corruption? Corruption, in our humble opinion, may mean misuse of power by persons who are in charge of official duties or duties in any non-governmental office. In educational institutions, it means favouritism in case of admission of students, recruitment of teachers and clerks and private tuition by teachers who are teaching students of the same school.

About the reason for the widespread corruption prevalent in our lives, we cannot deny that the so-called democratic system in India appears to be the spring of corruption prevalent in our modern society. As long as the first generation of Congress leaders were at the helm of affairs things were not too bad, though there were occasional lapses. However Lord Acton's dictum "Power corrupts, Absolute power corrupts absolutely," began to show itself, though the erosion of moral value, was slow to make itself manifest. Even when these first generation stalwarts lived, rumblings of questionable deals for a consideration and discontent for favoured treatment were heard and subsequently confirmed by Commissions of Enquiry. With the gradual disappearance of these first generation statesmen and their replacement by the second generation politicians, politics instead of being a service of society became tantamount to service to self. It became a profession as it were, a paid office with many

privileges and perquisites attached to it instead of unpaid public service prevalent before Independence. None should grudge their salaries, but it cannot be denied that the spirit of sacrifice and dedication which inspired freedom fighters is no longer present in the second generation politicians who unfortunately replaced the freedom fighters. Winning an election by any means, keeping the party majority intact by suppressing dissidence and causing defection and gagging all opposition have been the means adopted on different occasions in their fierce struggle for power. In this game, truth and honesty have become the casualties.

As politics has become a profession, winning an election is the first requisite. But, fighting an election requires funds and needs a body of campaigners for door to door canvassing. For funds business tycoons are roped in to help and party funds are not open to public scrutiny or accounting and nobody is allowed to know their source and size. A suggestion that all election campaigns should be publicly financed has fallen by the wayside. What reduces democracy to a farce is, however, the rigging and false voting which goes on unchecked in every election.

We have diluted our democracy by permitting easy defections. A party winning less than fifty percent of the seats or faltering on account of growing dissidence within the party, finds no difficulty in winning over members of other parties by offering bribes. The talk of banning defection by legislation has not been very successful, as there are ample cases of such transfer of allegiance and nauseating examples of the scramble for power, regardless of principles. Elections won in this way and power retained

in such manoeuvres, lead to what can only be described as travesty of democracy.

Strength and stability of the administration would depend largely on what was once described as the steel frame of the administration viz, the superior Civil service. The first generation of Statesmen felt its value and cherished it. But in the case of the second generation statesmen the scene had altogether changed and the Civil Service Officers did not venture to give unpalatable advice to the Ministers. In States where the subordinate staff are organised into Unions with the political support of the party in power, their position is even more delicate. It becomes a case of the tail wagging the dog, instead of the dog the tail, and the result may become chaos all round. The lack of accountability is poisoning most spheres of administration with which the public have to deal.

However hope lies with the rising generation. But what of the rising generation—the very young as well as the teenagers on whom the mantle we discard will fall and whose responsibility it will be to push the country forward? How are they shaping? What are the ideas they absorb from their surrounding, the ideals that are dinned into their ears from their boyhood? Before Independence an ideal of austerity and discipline with a special accent on the spirit of dedication to the service of the motherland was held up before the youth of the country. The contrast with to-day is startling. Smoking is almost de rigueur and drinking is trying to catch up with it. It is as if a whole generation has lost its moorings and is drifting helplessly along. Sex is no longer taboo and many writers earn easy money by pandering to these

tastes. Further, students in colleges and universities form as many unions as there are active political parties in these State. Sometimes the Unions become so strong that they browbeat the Principals, and the political parties are not concerned with the promotion of pure learning or the advancement of knowledge or building up of an educated elite. Their sole concern is to swell the number of their own supporters so that their own political future with all its perquisites is assured.

The result of all social and political corruption is visible in every sphere of life in India to-day, for corruption has assumed a huge dimension not only in West Bengal, but also in other parts of India. In many offices both Government and non-government no work is done without bribe by cash or in kind. It appears that bribe is taken at all levels, from the highest post to the lowest cadre, in Cash or in kind, sometimes in office premises or otherwise in some notified areas. Honest employees and officers there are no doubt; but they cannot control or stop corruption. As for example, there are rules that an employee should take permission for construction of a house or purchase of land or even for purchasing other domestic articles e.g. Refrigerators, T.Vs, etc., where the total consideration is above one thousand rupees. Many employees are seen constructing houses in the names of relatives or are spending much more money

than what is permitted by Government. How will this be detected and who will detect it? Political parties are not free from this corruption. Supporters, or relatives of leaders of ruling political parties are recruited with ease in educational and other services. It is true that they are recruited through the proper channels, but quite often the channel itself is guided by leaders of the ruling party.

Thus in the main we have briefly discussed the rampant corruption prevalent in our society. The question is do we wish to sit as onlookers in mute helplessness and allow the country to go rapidly downhill or should we make an effort to stop this trend? To throw up the sponge and do nothing seems to us to be the counsel of despair. Let us remember that the country does not belong only to those who scramble for power in the political arena. It belongs to us all and it is the duty of all those who are clear-sighted, un-self-centred and uncommitted to think of ways of how the tide may be turned. Discussion groups, societies, study circles and seminars may help. Let all of us teachers and students, poets and litterateurs, essayists and novelists, saints and philosophers, politicians and non-political personalities calmly and dispassionately ponder over the magnitude of corruption in our lives and try to find a permanent solution to this baffling problem.



POMPEII, THE LAND OF RUINS

Dr. GOUR MOHAN DAS DE

During my school days our geography teacher while describing the geographical and historical aspects of Italy, gave us a very short description of the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius which had destroyed a small village called Pompeii. It did not make any heart reading impression on me at that time and I forgot it within a short time. Later I had a chance to read a short story about Pompeii which gave me a vivid description of the disastrous devastation of Pompeii and its inhabitants as a result of the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius, and after a couple of years I saw an American film called 'Last days of Pompeii'. It showed vivid scenes of the complete annihilation of Pompeii due to the volcanic eruption and running hot lava of Mt. Vesuvius. These horrible scenes had moved me greatly, but no ordinary person would wish to visit those ruins unless he is an anthropologist or a lover of anthropology, or a historian. However I am an ordinary physician and it was almost forty years later, during my tours of Italy I found myself still very curious to visit the ruins of Pompeii.

After touring Rome we went straight to the enquiry office of the main railway station of Rome to arrange a visit to Pompeii. Next morning After taking our breakfast we

headed towards the main station to board the train for Pompeii. After enquiring we boarded the waiting train. Though it looked quite old, it was neat and tidy with foam seats inside. In our compartment there were a few passengers. The train left the city for Naples as usual along the sides of the ancient Roman walls and a very large garden. On our way we saw a few small hills and large agricultural fields on either side of the railway lines. Like any other Indian trains the hawkers were selling their goods on the running trains. The difference was that they did not shout or trouble the passengers. They politely requested us several times whether we would like to buy anything from them. They were selling cokes, hot coffee, chocolates, and cigarettes, although each of those articles was very costly.

Our train was stopping at every station as it was a local train. Gradually all the seats in our compartments were occupied; and other passengers having no seats were standing quietly. Most of the passengers were in ordinary dresses. We could not talk with any passengers in our compartment due to language difficulties. They were staring at us and we also were staring at them. We passed a few hilly tunnels and a few hills capped with

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snow which charmed us greatly. By the sides of the hills were cottages of the cultivators and vast cultivated lands on both sides which seemed to meet the horizon. The sun was shining over us and we were enjoying the cool breeze from the open windows of our compartment.

Suddenly some one wished me good morning. I turned back and wished him too. He was a tall old European who asked me, 'Are you from India?'

I nodded and asked him, 'How do you know?'

He told me, 'Indian women always put on saris.'

We both smiled and talked about our country and profession. I came to know that he was a Greek by birth, domiciled in Rome, working as a sales executive of a certain firm in Rome. He was going on a tour for his business. I asked him about the people of Athens as I would be going there on the next day. He first praised the Indian girls with their long hair and saris, then warned us that we should not get disappointed if we did not meet ladies like Diana or Helen of Troy with their exquisite beauty. A few girls only in the villages were worth looking at. In modern Greece everything had been changed like any other European country. Most of their girls had their hair bobbed and the boys had long hair like the girls. The girls no more looked like the girls of the ancient times. Most of them were not slim but plump. He felt sorry for the modern world which had changed everything in their lives. I told him sympathetically not to be sorry for that as that kind of change in the environments of our lives had happened everywhere with only a few exceptions.

After a few minutes silence he asked me again whether we would visit Naples. I told him that I could not visit that place as after visiting the ruins of Pompeii I would have to go back hurriedly to Rome. He advised me visit Naples, former Parthenope, a Greek colony of 600 B.C. The Greeks built a new town called Neopolis and the old city was named Palaeopolis. These two colonies fell to the Romans in 328 B.C. Palaeopolis disappeared and Neopolis remained, and was once a cultural centre of the Roman Empire. Many famous people used to live there. It was captured first by Goths and then ruled by Lombards. It was ruled in fact by several races eg Normans, Spanish, Austrian, French etc. It was afterwards won by Giuseppe Garibaldi in 1860 and joined with Italy in 1861. People of Naples were destroyed by attacks of Cholera as well as by the bombardment during the second world war. He requested me to visit the old city if possible. This was situated on the eastern side and the new city on the north-south side of Naples. In the old city we could visit the King's palace, National Library, and the grave of Virgil. In the new city there was the National Museum where famous operas were performed. He told me again "The city of Naples is a gateway of Italy. The gaiety and spirit of the Neapolitan can be felt everywhere."

Our train was running towards Naples which was situated on the north side of the Bay of Naples. The distance from Rome to Naples was 120 miles. On its south side was situated the famous volcano Mt. Vesuvius. Before we entered the station of Naples, we had passed by the side of the Bay of Naples. That part of Naples was very beautiful and its picturesque scenery enchanted everyone. There were many fishermen fishing there while a little distance away from the coast stood a few ships.

Within a few minutes we reached the station of Naples. It was crowded but not like our Indian railway stations. The reason might be due to the fact that the people of Italy preferred to drive about in their own cars. The cost of petrol at that time was not so high. Naples station was not a very large one but properly maintained. The porters came to carry our bags.

In the meantime I enquired about our train. Though nobody knew English after hearing the name of Pompeii they directed us towards a waiting train. I was much tempted to visit the town of Naples, but I could not manage it. We boarded the waiting train. Pompeii is 30 miles away from there.

This was also a local train. We found many more passengers here than the previous one. They were mostly cultivators and labourers; they were carrying heavy baggage on their backs when they entered our compartment. They were very polite and simple. Their behaviour towards us was excellent. They wanted to talk to us but failed due to the language barrier. From their gestures we could easily understand that they were very eager to help us. When our train was approaching Pompeii station they came to us and asked us to get ready to get down. When the train stopped at the station they bade us goodbye in their own language and we also did the same. Everywhere the common people were simple and good hearted as well as understanding.

We went to the station master directly to enquire about the availability of any transport to the ruins. Since the distance to the ruins from the station was one and a half miles. We came out of the station. The time was

then ten minutes past twelve. There was not a single piece of cloud over the sky which was absolutely clear, no breeze was blowing there, only the scorching sun was over our heads.

About a few yards ahead we saw a man standing by the side of a very old car, probably a 1936 model. He saw us and hurried to us. I realised that he was the driver of that car. He asked me whether we wished to visit the ruins. I nodded my head and asked him about his fare. He told me that his charge was very much cheaper in comparison with other taxi drivers. It was only 3000-liras (approx. \$5 $\frac{3}{4}$). I thanked him and told him that I could not afford that big sum. I informed him again that we might walk that short distance. I wanted to bargain with him as it was not possible for us to walk one and a half miles under the burning sun. I started bargaining with him and at last it was settled for 1500 liras. I saw two young foreigners also going to the ruins. I asked them whether they would come and share the cost. They said that they would not pay anything for that short distance.

We boarded the car and the journey began. After a few minutes we entered a small town. The town itself was very small and very dirty. By the side of the road there stood a very old Roman Catholic church. The place was very crowded and the road was very narrow and dirty. Many old cars were moving on that road. There was a small market on the side of the road. People were buying and selling their goods. A few shops were also selling clothes and grocery. Most of the people there were Roman Catholics and very poor. There were not many new large buildings. On either side of the

ad there were many shops. We passed through many curved metalled roads, but they were broken in places and covered with thick dust. Within a few minutes we passed the towns and headed towards the ruins. The high road was metalled and clean. In the centre of the high road there were orange trees in places. Many red and large oranges were hanging on the trees. I had never seen that type of large oranges. The high road was not at all crowded as a few lorries and cars were moving only.

The ruins of Pompeii are situated on a hilly place. We could see it from the car. We reached there after fifteen minutes. The road was metalled and zig zag. We straight went up to the high place. We saw a few houses on the top. The driver asked me to pay him 600 liras for admission fees and requested us to visit a particular building on the right side of the road. We got down from the car and proceeded towards that building.

There was a small bridge in front over a dry canal and on it was a sign board with "Villa Del Misteri" written. The Villa del Misteri (Misteri Village) had a few ancient buildings which had neither windows nor doors and some of them had no roof even. We went inside the first room of the first building. We saw its mosaic floor and its inside walls were beautifully frescoed with beautiful and colourful pictures of that ancient age. Its right wall was cracked in places. There were two frescoes in that room, one was 'Silenus and Satyrus' and the other 'The Reading of the Ritual'. We went to the next room, the fresco on the wall of that room was 'Dance of a Bacchante' which was fading in some places. That build-

ding had only two rooms which were cracked in some places although the cracks were repaired. Those buildings were built with thin small bricks of ancient times with ordinary mortar. Next we went behind that building. There was a small courtyard, and on one side of it was a kitchen stacked with firewood still. Inside the kitchen there were a few earthen utensils blackened with soot. They were well made but remarkably plain. In a remote corner of the courtyard there was an altar for keeping the idol of their household god but we did not see any idol there. That building was walled on all sides but broken in some places. In the 7th century B.C. that village was founded by a tribe called the Oscans, later other tribes like the Etruscans, the Samnites etc came there. These tribes scattered themselves all over the place. They were very intelligent and expert in the arts. We came out of that village as the other buildings were not worth visiting.

Our driver was waiting for us with two tickets in his hand which he handed over to me. He then took us in his car a few yards below that place and requested us to get down there. When we alighted he handed a small map over to me. Showing us a few numbers of buildings which he had marked on that map he requested us to visit those houses and to meet him at the Porta Marina gate after our visit. After giving us some more advice he left us.

We entered another village called Villa de Diomedi, where we met a young Italian sitting on a chair checking the admission tickets in the first room of the first building of that village.

He saw us and asked me, 'Are you from

'India?' I smiled and asked him, 'How did you guess that we are from India? Have any Indians come here?'

He answered smilingly, 'I immediately understand seeing the lady in sari that you are from India. I have heard that very few Indians visit this area, but I have not seen any of them. I have seen many Indian ladies at Rome.' We started walking towards the interior of that village. The path was not metalled but repaired with pieces of stone and bricks taken from the ancient broken houses. On either side of the road there were a row of ancient buildings which had no windows, no doors and not even roofs. A few houses in that row had their inside walls frescoed with coloured pictures of their household gods and goddesses. Most of the kitchen houses had ancient earthen pots in which the villagers of that time used to store their grain. A few grains of wheat of that time were still kept there to show the visitors. The grains had turned black. One of those buildings had an arch gate decorated with sculptures. The path was very narrow and not straight.

The day was very hot as the sun was already extremely high in the deep blue sky bereft of clouds. We were perspiring and were very tired and thirsty. The scorching sun beat down upon us and we were unable to proceed further. We were in a hurry, as our aim was to cover the most important parts of the ruins. We would never come back to that place again. If we failed to visit some important parts it was certain that we

would regret that in future. The village we just had visited was also inhabited by former tribes. On our way forward we were just passing through the place called di tombo when we met a group of American tourists and their guide. From the guide we came to know that di tombi was not a village but a burial ground of the Romans and their favourite gladiators. We saw a few tombstones there. They were very old and decaying. On one of those tombstones there was a carving of a fight between the two gladiators. The guide told us that some other tombstones had the inscriptions of the name of the dead which could not be identified due to the letters. But we had not seen any. Nobody should come to visit unknown places alone (without a proper guide. For in other countries we had our guides during our tours. We had no time to correct it so we followed the American tourists. The guide took us to another place through a broken wall on which there was a sign board of 'Porta Ercolano.' He informed us that it was the name of one of the seven gates which were built by the Romans. The visitors could use five of the seven gates. The city of Pompeii is oval in shape and its diameter is only two miles. It was surrounded by a high wall which had seven gates. They were Porta Ercolano, Porta Vesuvio, Porta di Nola, Porta di Sarno, Porta di Nocera, Porta di Stabia and Porta Marina. The villages we just visited were on the outside of the main city.

(To be Continued

Current Affairs

The Israel-Lebanon Negotiations ;

A STEP FORWARD

1.

On 28 December 1982, delegations from Israel and Lebanon opened negotiations in Haldé with the participation of representatives of the United States. These talks will largely determine the future relations between the two countries. For the last five years Israel and one of its neighbours have entered into face-to-face negotiations with the aim of establishing peaceful and normal relations between the two countries and respect for one another's sovereignty and territorial integrity. A rare opportunity has emerged to move from the chaos and instability of the past to a new kind of situation—in the interests of both Israel and Lebanon.

2.

Israel harbours no feelings of enmity towards Lebanon and is entering the negotiations in the knowledge that there is a wide area of agreement with regard to the ultimate aim of the talks. In fact, there is no real conflict between the two countries.

3.

Israel's Operation Peace for Galilee last summer was not directed against Lebanon or

the Lebanese people. Israel has never had, nor has it today, any territorial claim on that country. Its campaign was directed against the Organization (PLO), which had turned Lebanon into a springboard for incursions into Israel and terrorist attacks on its citizens, as well as into the nerve centre of international terrorism.

4.

Had it not been for Israel's military campaign in Lebanon, there not only could have been no new breakthrough towards peace in this sector, but the PLO would have remained in Lebanon and continued to carry out terrorist activities against Israel and to undermine Lebanese sovereignty and independence. The delegations to the talks would do well to remember that the return to normal life in Beirut and other parts of Lebanon, and the opportunity for Lebanon to regain its sovereignty, are the result of the Israel Defence Forces (IDF) operation in the summer of 1982.

5.

It is, therefore, as much in Lebanon's own interest as in Israel's that effective measures be taken now to make certain that never again will Lebanon become a base for terrorist activities—and that Lebanon will

be permitted, at last, to conduct its own affairs without outside pressures and interference.

6.

Israel will begin a withdrawal of its forces from Lebanon as soon as agreement has been reached on guaranteeing security along its northern border; and on the establishment of peaceful and good-neighbourly relations with Lebanon; and only after appropriate arrangements for the withdrawal of the PLO terrorists and the Syrian occupation army have been made and implemented. All the PLO terrorists must leave Lebanon before Israel begins withdrawal of its forces.

7.

Unfortunately, there are still militant forces, both within Lebanon and beyond its borders, that are trying to turn the clock back by inducing the newly-formed Lebanese government to press for an Israeli withdrawal unlinked to such stabilizing measures as would make the withdrawal meaningful in terms of future peace prospects. Peace with Israel, and in the region as a whole can only be achieved if Lebanon frees itself from the influence of these militant forces. Giving in to the pressures of the Arab rejectionist states will only block progress and lead to stalemate. Many Lebanese are known to share these concerns and apprehensions, and have expressed the hope that their government will succeed in acting freely and independently.

8.

Nor does it make sense to speak now of a return to the defunct armistice regime that

had a precarious existence in this area between 1949 and 1967. It was the leaders of Lebanon at the time who, on the eve of the 1967 Six-Day War, openly aligned themselves with Arab armies which were then preparing to launch a concerted assault against Israel. And it was they who, after that war, signed the Cairo Agreement and other agreements permitting the PLO terrorists to set up their state within-a-State inside Lebanon and to operate freely against Israel from Lebanese territory, in flagrant violation of the armistice agreement. That agreement, therefore, was a dead letter already then, more than a decade ago. It certainly cannot be resuscitated today.

9.

Israel looks forward to working together, now and in the future, with a strong and independent Lebanon, enjoying territorial integrity and headed by a government exercising full and sole authority in handling its country's affairs and pursuing the welfare of its people.

10.

The establishment of peaceful and good-neighbourly relations between Israel and Lebanon is an aim that merits the support not only of all nations, groups and individuals who wish to see the current peace process expanded towards a comprehensive Middle East settlement.

11.

The Israeli delegation, for its part will exert every effort to bring the current negotiations to a successful and speedy conclusion.

—News from Israel

—February, 1983

EFFECTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND PROGRESS

V. Georgiyev writes :

The Declaration adopted by the first conference of non-aligned heads of states and Governments in Belgrade in 1961, said that a lasting peace could only be ensured if colonialism in all their manifestations were completely eliminated.

Although more than 20 years have elapsed since the Belgrade conference, the anti-imperialist, anti-militarist and anticolonialist political goals of the non-aligned movement have gained in importance in the drastically aggravated international situation. The extraordinary session of non-aligned co-ordinating bureau which was held in the Nicaraguan capital of Managua in January 1983, resolutely censured neocolonialism, racism, militarism and other manifestations of imperialism. The forum also discussed such global problems as preventing of the threat of war, curbing of the arms race, and resumption of the process of relaxation of international tension. The developing countries ever more deeply understand the fact that in the thermonuclear conflagration to which the most adventurous circles of imperialism are pushing mankind, no state would have a chance to survive, even if it takes no direct part in the conflict.

The developing countries have also seen the pernicious effect of the arms drive into which they have been drawn. The not insignificant part of their national income which they have to spend on arms could be channelled to development, which would greatly speed up the solution of acute economic and social problems.

Therefore, the Havana session of the non-

aligned co-ordinating bureau held last summer, particularly stressed in the communique the vital importance of ensuring peace, consolidating detente and curbing the arms race, and denouncing the threat of using force. The session also addressed a communique to the second special UN General Assembly on Disarmament, calling upon it to take urgent measures to avert nuclear war and contribute to the intensification of the struggle for universal and complete disarmament.

The non-aligned Afro-Asian states are particularly concerned at the increasing tension in the Indian Ocean. Over the past ten years the USA has been intensively building up its military presence in that region in a bid to turn the vast zone of the Ocean into a sphere of its military-political domination. This is testified to by the network of US military bases in various countries of that region, including the base on Diego Garcia, where nuclear weapons have been deployed, by the permanent presence of a US naval task force in the Indian Ocean, and by the setting up of a US Central Command (CENTCOM), whose sphere of actions covers Southwest Asia and the Persian Gulf.

Seeing the real threat to their security and sovereignty, the non-aligned countries stand at the head of the struggle to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, free from foreign military presence. This struggle has been joined by all peace loving forces, who justly see the militarization of the Indian Ocean as a threat not only to the vital interests of its littoral states but to world peace.....

The struggle for international detente is closely interrelated with the prospects of

setting up a new international economic order on a fair basis. Most obviously, this problem of paramount importance for the development countries would be impossible to solve without resolute rebuff to the military-strategic plans of imperialism and its neocolonialist policy... The joint efforts of the developing and socialist countries have been crowned with the success of the 15-year-long talks at the UN conference on the law of the sea. It is the abovementioned group of states that have rebuffed the US attempts to torpedo the adoption of mutually acceptable agreements on the law of the sea....

The joint efforts of the non-aligned movements, of the socialist countries, and all the peace-loving forces, has a common interest in solving the vital problems of our time, have been and undoubtedly will be a paramount factor in the struggle for peace and progress of our earth.

—APN
27-1-84

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"ZERO OPTION" AND WHAT IT MEANS

What does President Reagan's "Zero Option" mean? It means, to put it simply, that the USSR should give up its entire nuclear missiles in its Western theatre as a *quid pro quo* for the US giving up its own plans to deploy 572 new medium-range Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in Western Europe. In short, the USSR should disarm itself in its Western theatre. On the face of it, the demand was unreasonable, and therefore it was rightly rejected by the USSR.

Why was it unreasonable? By the end of the SALT-2 negotiations, the NATO Treaty forces had acquired a measure of parity. Then in 1979 President Carter announced the deployment of new medium-range Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in Western Europe, thus upsetting the parity.

The US has more than 720 nuclear-carrier aircrafts, and forward-based missiles in West Germany. Apart from these, Britain and France possess 162 land and sea-based medium-range missiles and over 100 bombers. This means 982 carriers which can deal strikes at targets, 1000 to 4600 km. away, that is up to the Urals in the USSR.

These NATO medium-range nuclear means were offset early last year by the USSR with 975 of its own carriers of similar weapons. The existing parity is obvious. The USA wants the USSR to give up these 975 nuclear means in return for an US agreement not to deploy its new missiles.

The US argument goes like this: the USA has no "modern" medium-range missiles in Europe, while the Soviet so-called SS-20 is a medium-range modern missile. Hence, the USA wants to deploy 572 new Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in Western Europe. The US forgets here the US forward-based nuclear means in Western Europe as also the nuclear-carrier aircrafts and the missiles aboard submarines and warships, able to reach the Soviet territory, not to speak of the British and French nuclear forces.

What does the "Zero Option" mean to the USSR? It would mean scrapping all Soviet medium-range missiles of all varieties, the SS-4s, the SS-5s and the SS-20s. Together they maintained a rough balance against the

NATO forces, including the British and French. Acceptance of the "zero option" would give NATO a 50 per cent superiority over the USSR. It is only natural that the USSR could not accept it.

It is significant to point out here that the Soviet Union has not deployed nuclear weapons in the territories of its allies in Eastern Europe, nor do the allies possess any nuclear weapons of their own. All the nuclear weapons are deployed in the Soviet territory alone. As against this, the US has deployed nuclear weapons in West German territory and is now proposing to deploy the new weapons in the territory of other NATO allies.

The British and French forces are by no means small. Their missiles alone can lift in one go 340 nuclear charges. By 1985 the relevant figure will be about 600 charges with an aggregate yield of more than 150 megatons, and by 1990 almost 1200 charges with the yield of up to 170 megatons. These missiles can reach Soviet targets upto the Ural mountains. And if the British acquire submarines with Trident-2 missiles, they will have about 900 high accuracy weapons capable of striking targets on the entire Soviet territory. All these show that the British and French forces cannot be ignored in a discussion. By the way this provision is sealed in the Soviet-American joint statement of 1979. So the arguments of the West that British and French forces are outside the discussion are inconsistent both militarily and legally.

The Soviet Union believes that Reagan's "zero option" offer was a cover to protract the talks and to prepare the deployment of new missiles in W. Europe. This is evident

from the series of rejections by Washington of the various offers of Moscow.

In 1980 when the talks were launched, the Soviet Union suggested to the USA a moratorium on Europe-based medium-range weapons. In response, the US had merely to slow down the arms race, but it did not. The USSR then announced an unilateral freeze on its medium-range weapons in the hope of an agreement. The US response to this was the testing of the proposed Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles.

In 1981 the USSR proposed elimination of all medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe, that is both medium-range missiles and tactical weapons. There was no US response to this, too. The USSR, then, suggested a cut in the number of medium-range nuclear delivery vehicles on a reciprocal basis to the level of 500 units. The USA did not agree.

Now Yuri Andropov, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has made a far-reaching proposal. He said: "We are prepared, among other things, to agree that the Soviet Union should retain in Europe only as many missiles as are kept there by Britain and France—and not a single one more." Moreover, USSR is prepared to reduce even the number of these missiles, but on an equal basis. As for aircraft he was also in favour of a cut of that on a reciprocal basis.

The US response to this was that this was yet another version of earlier Soviet offers. But in Europe itself the offer has been taken seriously.

The USSR is in fact in favour of a freeze of nuclear weapon production. Yuri And-

ropcev said on November 22, 1982: "As to the nuclear strategic arms possessed by the USSR and the USA, the Soviet Union, as is known, agrees that the two sides should, as the first step on the way to a future agreement, freeze their arsenals and thus create more favourable conditions for the continuation of talks on the mutual reduction of these weapons." His proposals also provide for the scrapping of all medium-range and tactical weapons in Europe, thus turning the option on both sides to an "absolute zero."

The Soviet Union has made many declarations, more often of a unilateral nature, in order to preserve detente in Europe and avoid a nuclear war. The most significant of them, of course, was the declaration that the Soviet Union would not be the first to use nuclear weapons. If the NATO powers, particularly America, make a similar declaration it will be tantamount to a ban on the use of all nuclear weapons.

In defence of the "zero option" it has been said by Western spokesmen that West Germany and other NATO countries cannot depend on the British and French missiles. This argument holds no water. First of all the British and French missiles are trained against the USSR and Britain and France are members of NATO with equal obligations in the event of a war.

At the recent meeting of the Warsaw pact countries the members expressed themselves in favour of a genuine "zero" option, that is, ridding Europe of all nuclear weapons, both medium and tactical.

Why is the USA, then, insisting on the "zero option"? The answer is: it knows it will be rejected and that in the meantime

it can carry out its plans. It wants to create an impression that the USSR is obstructing negotiations, because the anti-nuclear movement in Europe and America is gaining ground.

—News from USSR

Calcutta, 11, 2, 84

NEGOTIATING DEVELOPMENT: SOUTHERN ASIA'S LABOUR RELATIONS

From jet planes and electronic data processing to mechanised production in mining and agriculture, Western technology is sending the shock waves of industrialisation Asia.

Labour relations, too, have reached a crucial point of evolution in the region. The challenge is to absorb Western technology without sacrificing valued Asian standards and traditions.

In a new study* covering 10 countries of southern Asia (Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Singapore, Sri Lanka and Thailand), Johannes Schregle, head of ILO's Industrial Relations Department, points a way forward to harmonious national development in the region.

Mr Schregle makes a plea "to move away from the technocratic development planning that has become traditional in developing countries and to adopt a negotiated—that is pluralistic and democratic—approach to development."

HARMONIOUS WAY

In light of southern Asia's cultural history, labour relations in the region could be less conflictive and more co-operative and "harmonious" than in the West, he suggests.

Malaysia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, India and other southern Asian countries all have explicit references to industrial harmony as an ideal in their labour relations laws, draft regulations or agreements.

'Harmony in labour relations is regarded as a desirable goal, not as a general and hazy concept but as an objective which can be attained in practice,' Mr Schregle points out.

Alarmed that the shock of industrialisation may destroy cherished Asian standards and traditions, some decision makers and thinkers in southern Asia are today turning their eyes culturally eastward to Japan as a model of success in combining technological and economic achievement with the preservation of traditional values.

Many trade unionists, in the region and outside, view this trend with suspicion, Mr Schregle writes. They fear widespread calls for "Asianisation of labour relations" could serve as a pretext for curtailing and suppressing basic workers' rights.

DISPELLING FEARS

Basing his proposals on over 20 years' experience and discussions with the region's labour specialists in government, trade union and employers' circles, Mr Schregle suggests governments can go a long way to dispelling those fears.

In many southern Asian countries, the government is the biggest employer, even without taking account of the public administration, postal services, railways and airlines.

"The part of the industrial, agricultural and commercial sector which is in public ownership is 80 per cent in Pakistan, 75 per cent in Bangladesh and 60 per cent in Sri Lanka," Mr Schregle reports.

Governments could take a leading and guiding role in labour relations. But this should be more promotional and advisory than coercive, he recommends. He suggests an "Asian way" of combining workers' participation in decision-making with personnel policies at the enterprise level, taking into account Asian values and elements which characterise the employment relationship.

CONCILIATION

At the moment all 10 countries have some form of compulsory arbitration of labour disputes, with binding settlements.

The Asian cultural tradition suggests conciliation procedures would work better because of their inbuilt, face-saving devices, Mr Schregle writes.

Japan has avoided excessive legalism in labour relations, largely through commissions composed of government, employer and worker representatives to tackle industrial disputes by conciliation, he notes.

But conciliation procedures should go "beyond that of a fire brigade which is called in only when the house is on fire," Mr Schregle urges. Southern Asian labour departments should train conciliators to offer all kinds of help and advice to employers and workers at all levels of the economy.

WORKERS AND EMPLOYERS

Trade unions and employers' organisations in southern Asia are sometimes weak because most businesses are small or often based in rural regions.

Governments could encourage stronger unions and employers' groups to become effective partners in negotiations by promoting economy-wide talks on issues as well as at the level of individual enterprises. Mr Schregle proposes.

The national development of southern Asian countries has its price and will require sacrifices. But workers can be sure they are not carrying the whole burden only if they have independent unions to represent them.

"The workers' effective right to have their interests represented by strong and efficient trade unions provides the only sure guarantee that the bill of development will not be footed exclusively or primarily by the workers but that the burden will be more or less equitably shared by all," Mr Schregle says.

Johannes Schregle; *Negotiating development; labour relations in southern Asia*, ILO, Geneva, 1982.

—News from I.L.O. Information.

INDIAN ANTARCTIC EXPEDITION : ITS FUTURE

R. SEN GUPTA writes :

Since the successful First Indian Expedition to Antarctica, 1980-81, many questions have been raised e.g. Why India should have expeditions to the coldest, windiest and driest continent. What India, particularly Indian science, stands to gain by such expeditions.

The Continent of Antarctica has been divided by the early exploring countries among themselves. They are: Australia,

New Zealand, France, Norway, Great Britain, Chile and Argentina. But there were several other countries who conducted scientific research in different fields in Antarctica prior to World War II. Part of Antarctica was used as a base for military operations by a few countries during that war, as the territorial claims were never rigidly enforced by the claimant countries. It was, therefore, felt after the cessation of hostilities that some kind of regulations are needed to check the future use of the continent for war efforts.

These arguments formed the basis for the establishment of the Antarctic Treaty Organization. This organization enacted the principles of a draft treaty, the salient features of which are : (i) freezing territorial claims ; (ii) prohibiting testing of armaments on the Continent including nuclear weapons ; (iii) restricting the continent exclusively for scientific research by all the countries of the world ; (iv) right to inspect by any signatory country other's permanently manned stations.

Initially, participation in the Antarctic Treaty Organization was restricted to 13 countries who had scientific activities on the continent till 1957. The Treaty was ratified in 1961 for a period of 30 years. Its original members are: Australia, New Zealand, France, Norway, Great Britain, Chile, Argentina, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Japan, Belgium, South Africa and West Germany. Poland has been admitted as a member subsequently. Uruguay and Brazil have applied for membership. Any country who demonstrates active scientific research in Antarctica can apply for membership. India has recently successfully completed her first scientific expedition and Peoples Republic of China is planning her first

scientific expedition to Antarctica, probably during 1982-83.

Another organization was subsequently established by UNESCO. This is a Scientific Committee on Antarctic Research (SCAR). This committee periodically organizes conferences and symposia to review the scientific research being done in Antarctica and to define thrust areas.

The objects of scientific research in Antarctica can be broadly classified under the following points :

- (i) Antarctica is an important location for observing the interaction of the magnetic field in conjunction with charged particles from the Sun.
- (ii) The North and South poles maintain the heat budget of the world in balance. The heat transported through the atmosphere and the oceans to the Poles is dissipated in space in the form of long-wave radiation.
- (iii) The Indian, Atlantic and Pacific Oceans meet around Antarctica as a distinct body of water which girdles the earth and is uninterrupted by any land mass.
- (iv) Antarctica is a stable platform for carrying out scientific observations. It is far away from all sources of environmental contamination and thus remains an unpolluted datum point from which global changes due to pollution can be monitored.
- (v) The glaciers of Antarctica comprise about 90 per cent of the earth's ice. Thus, this continent holds about 75 per

cent of the fresh water reserve of the earth.

- (vi) Antarctic ocean supports a few species with large population and short food chain magnification. It is among the richest biological provinces on the earth. The important organisms regulating the simple food chain in Antarctic waters is the red shrimp-like krill.
- (vii) In the mesozoic era, Gondwana land had a common landmass of five continents, namely, Africa, Antarctica, Australia, India and South America. Later, the continents drifted apart and formed oceans in between them.
- (viii) Geologists believe that some rich deposits of coal, iron, uranium, copper, lead, oil, gas etc. could be found in Antarctic especially, under the sea bed.

Some of the findings of the First Indian Expedition to Antarctica agree with a few of these hypotheses. Indian scientists have observed a radio black-out in the short wave range for three days ; a 'magnetic storm' for a few minutes ; an upward increasing vertical gradient of aerosol particles combined with occasional reversal in the gradient, probably caused by Katabatic winds ; and many interesting physical, chemical, biological and geological characteristics in the Antarctic ice, a lake and ocean.

The Second Indian Expedition to Antarctica will probe deeper into some of these preliminary findings. However, the main tasks before this expedition are to locate and survey an area on the Antarctic main land where a permanently manned Indian scientific station could be established in

future, and to build an airstrip on the Antarctic ice for the landing of aircrafts. Oceanographic observations have been kept away from the tasks of this expedition as the team will be spending approximately 60 days on land to try and complete the assigned task. In addition, the team will inspect the unmanned weather station at 'Dakshin Gangotri' and reactivate it as well as replenish the supplies, if required, in the refuge last raised in Antarctica by the First Expedition.

The Second Expedition, like the First one, will also use the chartered Norwegian ice breaker 'M.V. Polar Circle' as no other ship was available this year as well.

For the future, India's own ice breaker is being planned. This ice breaker will provide supplies for and relieve scientists at the proposed permanently manned station. If required, it will be able to overwinter in Antarctic waters. The ship will carry out extensive oceanographic observations in the Antarctic Ocean and will be fitted with the latest equipments for scientific work, navigation and ship to shore communication. The targeted date for the acquisition of the ice breaker and the establishment of the manned station has been tentatively set as the austral summer of 1985-1986.

—Science and Culture,
January, 1983

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the team of India's first Antarctica expedition.

TO EACH ACCORDING TO HER WORTH

John H. Bunzel Writes

On July 14, 1981, the city of San Jose, California, and Local 101, a unit of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) ended the United States' first municipal strike over the issue of equal pay for comparable worth (in contrast to equal pay for work) by agreeing to a \$5.4 million, two-year contract that is intended to narrow the salary gap between men and women workers.

By a vote of 295-27, the strikers accepted a city council offer that included (1) \$4 million for general pay increases of 7.5 percent in 1981-82 and 8 percent in 1982-83 for the 2,000 clerical, parks, library and other employees represented by the union, and (2) \$1.4 million over two years for extra adjustments to about 750 women in "under-valued" female-dominated positions. The "feminist" bonuses were determined by a 1979 study of 280 city jobs conducted by Hay Associates of San Francisco, a personnel consulting firm that was commissioned by the city council to determine whether women are paid less than men. The report took nine months and cost San Jose \$100,000.....

In simplest terms, comparable worth requires salaries to be determined by the "worth" of a job to the organization (in this case the city of San Jose) in comparison with other jobs. Worth to the organization is measured by a "point-factor" test. The doctrine rejects traditional job evaluation procedures and market rate standards which, it claims, "crowd" women into jobs that are traditionally dominated by women, and thereby perpetuates a system of impermissible sex discrimination.....

In San Jose, a committee consisting of a representative of the Personnel Department and nine municipal employees who belonged to a union (there are 11 different unions in the city) and were familiar with each of the major job areas (parks and recreation, clerical, public works, blue collar, etc.) engaged in a so-called bias-free ranking of 225 nonmanagement jobs in city government. In ranking the jobs the committee judged each one subjectively in four categories—know-how, problem-solving, accountability, and working conditions. Based on these judgments, each job was then given a numerical rating. "The committee did not set salaries," said David Armstrong, the city personnel official and the only management representative on the committee. "It evaluated jobs. Money was never considered."

The salary of each job classification was charted by Hay Associates along with the "point system" rankings. After working for months with scatter diagrams, lines of regression, bar graphs, and computer print-outs, a salary "trend line" was developed. Above the line were jobs paid more than would be expected solely from the numerical ratings of value. Below the line, the reverse was true. This trend line became a "fiscal time bomb" as employee unions realized that many of their workers were paid far below that line. In fact, jobs dominated by women fell 2 to 10 percent below the line while jobs dominated by men were 8 to 15 percent above.

The study by Hay Associates began in 1979 with questionnaires sent to all city employees, asking them to describe in detail the tasks, responsibilities, working conditions, problems, and requirements of their jobs. The city's personnel department reviewed all

of the responses, interviewed 20 percent of the employees at their work locations, and drew up new specifications for every job in the city, describing duties and responsibilities.

To measure know-how, for example, committee members were instructed to study both scope and depth of knowledge of practical procedures, techniques, and skills gained through formal training and education or experience. Categories included Primary, Elementary Vocational, Vocational, Advanced Vocational, and Basic Technical-Specialized, each of which was specified by detailed criteria. Subcategories measured human relations requirements of the job—Basic, Important, or Critical.

Thus a senior chemist and senior librarian require the greatest know-how, the chemist the greatest amount of problem-solving, and the senior librarian the most accountability. A secretary was deemed to require the vocational level of knowledge, and important human relations skills. (Similar kinds of cross tabulations were done for problem-solving, accountability and working conditions for every category of job.)

The following are some examples of the committee's work, with point values assigned for each measurement. KH stands for know-how; PS is problem-solving; AC is accountability; and WC is working conditions. The positions in each job grade, only a few of which are listed below, were judged to be of comparable value to the city of San Jose. Pay is annual.

JOB GRADE 15

Senior Chemist, 501 points (no sex dominates): KH-264; PS-115; AC-115; WC-7. \$29,094.

Senior Librarian, 496 points (female dominated): KH-264; PS-100; AC-132; WC-0. \$23,348.

JOB GRADE 6

Pointer, 173 points (male dominated): KH-115; PS-22; AC-22; WC-14. \$24,518.

Secretary, 177 points (female dominated): KH-115; PS-29; AC-33; WC-0. \$17,784.

Senior Telephone Operator, 178 points (female dominated): KH-115; PS-25; AC-38; WC-0. \$15,210.

Senior Water System Technician, 172 points (male dominated): KH-115; PS-22; AC-25; WC-10. \$21,710.....

One thing is clear: Paying women on the basis of the value of their jobs relative to men's has far greater ramifications than does the simple "equal-pay-for-equal-work" concept that was adopted by the U.S. Congress in the early 1960s and that was also one of the first issues of the feminist movement.

As a theory, comparable worth has powerful appeal, especially for unions and feminist groups claiming to speak for women workers who hold jobs that are consistently among the lowest paid or "undervalued." They can point to the fact that while women over 16 years of age now make up about 41 percent of the United States' work force, they are not making income gains on men. According to the *Wall Street Journal*; women earned 64 cents in 1955 for every dollar earned by men. The figure dropped to 57 cents in 1974 and was still less than 60 cents in 1979. Furthermore, millions of women work in clerical or service jobs where salaries are low

and chances for advancement are not very promising. The solution? Not the marketplace, with its inherent bias against women, say the leaders of AFSCME. Only the true "equity method" can do away with the socially unjust "earnings gap.".....

Fortune magazine, concerned about attempts to impose wage structures by judicial and administrative fiat, notes that there are two ways to correct imbalances in earnings between the sexes. One is for women to step into higher income jobs, a "commendable process" rooted in the Equal Pay Act and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act and one that has gained considerable momentum and support in the last 10 years or so. "But if the world could be changed by edict, there is a second method that would work much faster. Women could remain in their customary jobs and men in theirs, and employers could be ordered to pay the same wages to all whose work is deemed to be of equal value." That would certainly correct imbalances rapidly.....

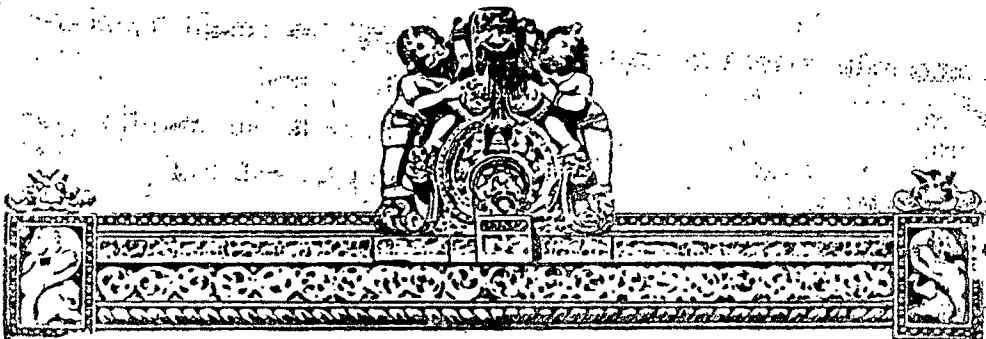
It is no secret that the demand for equality today is being broadened into a demand for what Daniel Bell has termed "a wider set of rights as claims on the community." This is what the fundamental debate over comparable worth is about. There is no disagreement over the illegality and irrationality of paying women differently when they perform the same tasks as men (equal work), or over the desirability of seeking greater wage and salary equity for women. What is in dispute are the extent and causes of the pay differentials. Are women on the average paid less because they are discriminated against? Put another way, would secretaries and librarians get the same low pay if most of these jobs were held by men, or are

secretaries and librarians low-paid because they are women?

The fact is, there are no simple answers. A variety of social and economic factors can and do account for the different earning patterns of men and women that have existed for some time. While there is more than a little evidence that women are concentrated in low-paying jobs, it is not easy to determine what portion of the male-female pay differences are related to exclusionary employment practices rather than to other "work-productivity related factors" such as seniority, skills, performance, higher turnover, differences in union characteristics, differences in labor market conditions, etc. In a market economy, some

jobs will always pay less than others. If many of these jobs are disproportionately filled by women, it may be due to differences in education and qualifications, the effect on job skills of discontinuous participation in the labor force (most married women leave the labor force during their child-bearing years and many never reenter), geographical movement as women follow their husbands, and greater interests and responsibilities in the home and family. Any or all of these considerations reflect socialization toward traditional roles that, for many women, begins in childhood.

—Span
February 83



THROUGH THE END

DIORDJE KOSTIC

"Translated from Serbo-Croatian"

by

ALOKANANDA MITTER"

21

A sada su došli prvi koraci
kada je sunce zaslo za krov kuce.

Po krvi su krenuli zvonici
kao kamile oko izgubljene ivice
u noci.

22

Samo jedna stepenica iznad
glasa,
unesi sunce u casu
i zid neka prolista
cistim ocima.

O taj lavez vucji koji stoji
kao koren uma, jos je
uvek gorak obruc oko moje
glave.

21

Now the first steps approach
as the sun sets on the far side of
the roof.

Bell towers stride through blood
like camels round the forlorn edge
by night.

22

Only one small step above
the sound,
carry the sun into the glass
and let walls leaf

with innocent eyes.
Oh this wolf-howl standing firm
as the root of reason,
is still a bitter ring
around my head.

23

I ovde je kraj,—

i ništa preko njega.

Kao što je kraj na ivici lista,

vao što je mir u oku,

tako se bezdan

razapeo na zidove neba.

24

Lebdi nad tihom vlagom ravnice
u hladu trave pod dudovima

teškim,

ispod njive i obronka
kao gusenice razapete na grane
u stranama ivice.

Strmim dolinama teče moj jedini,
još uvek topli i večernji,
dah koji
odzvanja ispod raspadnute tavanice
moje kuce.

2

Here is the end,—

and nothing beyond it.

As the end at the edge of a leaf,

as peace in sight,

so the vault

spreads out the walls of the sky.

24

Hovering above
the quiet moisture of the plains
in grassy shadows
under heavy branches
of trees,

under furrows and hillocks
like caterpillars stretched
on twigs

in the sides of the edge,

Through steep valleys
floating
my only, still warm
evening breath
echoing beneath
the shattered roof
of my house.

Indian and Foreign Periodicals

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS IN INDIA

P. S. PACHAURI Writes

Freedom of the Press in India is derived from the provisions of clause (1) (a) and Clause (2) of Article 19 of the Constitution of India which run as below :—

(1) All citizens shall have the right—

(a) to freedom of speech and expression ;

(2) Nothing in sub-clause (a) of Clause

(1) shall affect the operation of any existing law, or prevent the State from making any law, in so far as such law imposes reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said sub-clause in the interests of the sovereignty and integrity of India, the security of the State, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence.

In India no special position has been recognised for the Press apart from that of the citizens.¹ The Constitution of the U.S.A., on the other hand, makes a special provision about the freedom of the Press through the First Amendment which say, "Congress shall make no law...abridging the freedom of speech, or of the Press..." Similarly Article 5 of the Basic Law of West Germany specifically includes freedom of the Press and freedom of reporting by means of broadcasts

in the basic right of expression and also lays down that 'there shall be no censorship'. Thus the freedom of the Press in West Germany has been laid down in the widest of terms. The significance of this freedom becomes all the greater if it is read in the context of Article 20 (4) which confers on all the Germans the right to resist any person or persons seeking to abolish these right, should no other remedy be possible. Article 79 (3) of the Constitution (Basic Law) further provides that the rights of the people in Articles 1 to 20 shall not be subject to amendment.

IMPORTANCE OF THE PRESS

Not much need be said about the importance of freedom of the Press in a democratic country ; for, in sum, it keeps the governmental system on its toes and protects the citizens not only from any abuses of power by the Government but also from economically or otherwise strong forces which might in any way oppress the comparatively weaker sections of society.

VIOLATIONS OF FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

There can be many ways in which the freedom of expression, including the freedom of the Press, can be violated and it is for the courts, in each case, to determine whether the restrictions are reasonable or not in terms of Clause (2) of Article 19. Thus there have been many occasions on which the Supreme Court

of India has had to determine whether any restrictions placed on the freedom of the Press was a violation of Article 19 (1)(a). All these determinations of the Supreme Court cannot be discussed in detail here. But in the case of *Sakal Papers V. Union of India*,² the Supreme Court held that the Press has (a) freedom to publish its own views and the views of its correspondents, (b) freedom to determine the extent of circulation of the published matter, and (c) any restriction which seeks to reduce the space in a newspaper allotted for advertisements is an unreasonable restriction.... Similarly, any law or order compelling the newspapers to reduce the number of their pages or to charge prices according to some schedule except, for example, to eliminate competition, shall be restricting the freedom of speech and expression unreasonably.⁵ Even to curtail the liberty to publish as many pages as a newspaper desires would be an unreasonable restriction.⁶

The original Clause (2) of Article 19 did not contain the provision enabling the government to impose reasonable restrictions on the freedom of speech and expression; but through Sec. 3 of the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951, not only some more grounds were included in Clause (2) of Article 19 on which restrictions could be placed by law but the provision that such restriction should be reasonable was also made. As such, in the earlier cases⁷ it was held by the Supreme Court that precensorship *prima facie* constituted an infringement of the right. But with the coming into operation of this Amendment on 18 June 1951⁸ the position changed and in *Virendra's case*⁷ and later, in *Babu Lal v. State of Maharashtra* the Supreme Court held that each case had to be examined in the light of the circum-

stances in which pre-censorship was imposed and such a restriction could be reasonable only if it was imposed in emergent circumstances.

OTHER LAWS RESTRICTING FREEDOM

There are some other laws, besides the laws relating to slander and libel (defamation in India) and contempt of court, which restrict this right of the Press in India. The Official Secrets Act is one of them. The restrictions placed by this law is much more severe because the law does not express in exact terms what constitutes an official secret and who is the ultimate authority who would determine whether an information is secret or not. Then there is information which the Courts of Law can withhold as a matter of their privilege from the Press by conducting their proceedings in camera and thus placing a ban on their publication. Traditionally, the Houses of Legislatures in parliamentary democracies have privileges to prohibit publication of their proceedings and in India, on the analogy of the House of Commons of England, it was technically a breach of privilege to publish the proceedings of the Houses of Legislatures held even in public sittings. This anomaly has, however, now been removed in India through new Article 361 A of the Constitution which immunises the Press, the Radio and Television against breaches of privileges through publication of proceedings as long as such publication is substantially true and the proceedings have not been held in a secret sitting or specifically withheld from publication (44th Amendment of the Constitution).

IN U.S.A.

Some additional freedoms granted to the Press, along with the citizens, in the U.S.A.

are the laws which confer a general right on the citizens to receive information from the Government. In the U.S.A. an Act, called the Freedom of Information Act, was passed in 1966 which entitled any citizen to seek the inspection of any file of the Government to obtain information which is not 'classified' as sensitive. If the Government refuses to show the file to the applicant, he can go to a court of law to enforce his right....

The Government also often keeps information about individuals. As the Act of 1966 mentioned above related to information about public affairs only, another Act, The Freedom of Privacy Act, was passed by the U.S. Congress in 1974 to enable citizens to get information with the Government about oneself, or his near and dear, if his interest is proved to be genuine. The Guide Book of the U.S. Congress describes the effects of this Act in the following words :

Therefore, if after seeing your record, you wish to correct, delete or add information to it, you should write to the agency official who released the information to you, giving the reasons for desired changes as well as any documentary evidence you may have to justify the changes.

This facility can be of use to newspaper organizations also which can correct any incorrect information about them with the Government or any of its agencies. There has been discussion on the desirability of having similar laws in the U.K., Australia and Canada, West Germany and some other democracies but nothing has yet come out concretely.

USE OF FREEDOM BY THE PRESS

All the great advantages which have been claimed by thinkers in democratic countries

for the freedom of the Press, are of a general nature and based on the supposition that the Press, for which freedom is deemed desirable, is itself free and unbiased or uncontrolled by any political, religious, ethnical, communal or commercial or industrial influences. But as things stand, the Press itself is not free. It has its own biases, interests to project, and approaches to the problems of the people. In the words of Dwight G. McCarty—

We can view this from two angles. In the first place, the newspaper reporter colours his account with the point of view of his paper...A Labour paper will deduce one meaning from an address, while a Conservative property focussing paper will find just the opposite from an occurrence. A Republican paper will favour its own party. Even items of news are treated from this same stand point. They are given front page space in one paper and relegated to an inconspicuous back page in another. The policy of the paper becomes the policy of the reporters.¹⁰

Otherwise, too, newspaper organisations represent strong monetary combinations and if one newspaper or all or some of them, decide to harass some particular person or groups of them, they can put him to a great deal of inconvenience and even loss of reputation. If a man goes to court for loss of reputation, he will have to face political and money power arrayed against him, and the delay and inconvenience which judicial processes cause everywhere, specially, in India can deter any person from taking any action and force him to suffer at the hands of a hostile Press. Politicisation of the Press everywhere has increased this danger to the people from the Press.

SECRECY OF THE PRESS

While the Press presses its right to obtain information from any source whatsoever and publish it in public interest, it itself is chary—rather afraid—of divulging its sources of information. It goes without saying that if sources or primary information are disclosed at the commencement of any news item, the reader will be in a better position to ascertain the authenticity of the news and determine how much credence to attach to them. The words, 'It is understood', 'It is learnt from reliable sources' or other expressions of like import convey nothing to the reader. They may be used for news obtained from gossipers, very unreliable sources or even coined by way of circumstantial journalism. That a good part of the news obtained by the Press is got from sources which are improper was indirectly revealed by Mr. Cecil King, the Chairman of the Association of Proprietors of the Newspapers in England before a Committee of the House of Commons before which the various associations of journalists had claimed a right to report even the proceedings of the select committees or even the gossips which they listen to in the lobbies of the House of Commons. When the Committee asked Mr. King the question as to why did not the newspapers reveal the sources of their information he replied :

Because, if you do, you ruin yourself and damage your newspaper.¹¹

This about sums up the public interest which is claimed as the ground for its freedom by the Press because it shows that when it comes to informing public honestly it will look to its own interest at the cost of the interest of the public.

THE PRESS COUNCIL

One device which has been adopted in the U. K. and copied in India also is the

establishment by law of a Press Council which can be approached by any citizen who has any complaints about a newspaper. Generally it is too small to be deliberative and too large to be a judicial body. Then firstly it consists of a large number of representatives of the Press who, ordinarily, have an in-built defence mechanism in favour of the Press. Secondly, it does not hold its deliberative sittings in public so that the people may know what actually transpired during the deliberations of the Council in relation to a specific complaint. Thirdly, it has no punitive powers against the offending paper.

A BALANCE NEEDED

It goes without saying that no freedom is absolute and any freedom which is granted to any person or organisation is meant to be used for public weal. The Press to-day has gone even to the length of prying into the private affairs of the people and even scandalising. There is no law protecting privacy. In the U. S. A. the need of protecting persons from invasions by the Press of their privacy was realised by the Supreme Court quite late in the case of *Griswald v. Connecticut*, wherein Mr. Justice Douglas emphasised the need for protection of individuals, privacy (including their reputation) by law. No such case exists in India wherein this right against invasion by the Press has been recognised, though cases are there in which the right to privacy has been recognised in relation to search and seizure and the like.¹²

CONCLUSION

The role of the Press in India is somewhat limited. The reasons are obvious. A very large percentage of the population is illiterate. Then there are difficulties of operation of a

large number of languages in the country and a single newspaper can neither render any considerable service to the people nor can even mislead a large part of it. Thus the time for the press organizations establishing some sort of mirrors for themselves in which they can look at their own selves is now. Many newspapers in the U.S.A., like the St. Louis Post Despatch, the Washington Post, and The Time, have their own ombudsman type of institutions which keep an eye on attempts by their own journalists and editors at making sensational news or injuring the interests of individuals or even the State.¹⁴ In India this attempt can be made now so that the evil consequences which the American journalism before the Second World War brought about to need the establishment of such internal checks may not at all appear in India.

Paper presented at the Seminar on Freedom of the Press in relation to Fundamental Rights organised by the Uttar Pradesh Branch of the ICPS at Nainital on 15-17 October 1982.

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—Journal Of Constitutional And Parliamentary Studies
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Kiryat Shmonah

Since its beginnings in 1948, the population of Kiryat Shmonah has been an uneasy mixture of immigrants from many lands, with the largest numbers coming from North Africa. It has had to digest thousands of relatively unskilled and in some cases unlettered, newcomers often from harsh backgrounds engendering widely divergent cultural habits and inclinations. The difficulties have been compounded since 1967, the year which saw the start of the continuous harassment from the guns of the PLO over Israel's northern border.

Now after fourteen years of living in the shadow of terror, the town (official population 14,000) is free to take stock of its assets and look to the future. For the first time the townspeople, having been welded into an entity by violence from outside, are thinking of themselves as a community. Ethnic divisions are pushed aside in the communal effort to develop the town for everybody. The people are still somewhat dazed by the suddenness of the way in which peace broke out, and the completeness of the change. It

will take some time to adjust but plans are already under discussion for more industry and improved social amenities,

The years 1981-1982 had been the worst in the history of the town in terms of rocket and shellfire attacks, so when the military operation to silence the guns began the people of Kiryat Shmonah rushed to express their thanks to the army. They were the first to set up waystations with drinks and cookies for the troops. On the first day of the war IS 35,000 was donated in neighbourhood collections for the soldiers' welfare funds. Telephones were set up at once giving free calls for servicemen. Many local boys were in the first wave of assault troops to cross the border and the citizens felt that at last something active was being done to counteract the bombardment which had been their lot for so long.

According to Marcia Brown, a community worker, there were four stages of acceptance of the new situation. Firstly, a tremendous relief as if an unbearably heavy burden had been lifted from weary shoulders. "We could suddenly see the sun shining", was the way that one teenager expressed it.

Secondly there was pride. Pride in the achievements of "our Government", "our boys", "our Army". Tales of heroism and examples of Israeli concern for Lebanese civilians were the currency of daily conversation.

After the waves of euphoria came the feelings of guilt for the high price the country has had to pay for its security. The figure of 368 dead emphasized the darker side of victory. This feeling was exacerbated by the phone calls and letters received by some of the residents from families of fallen soldi-

ers: "Our boy has died to keep you safe", "this war was on your account".

Yvonne Silverberg, a long time householder, thinks that it was a mistake to name the operation 'Peace for Galilee'. The country is one", she said. "Bombs in Kiryat Shmonah are a threat to Tel Aviv". She said that throughout the years there has been resentment because of the attitude of the rest of the country. The town bears the name of Yosef Trumpeldor and his seven comrades who fell in the defence of Tel Chai in 1920. Trumpeldor's as we know, were, "Never mind, it is good to die for our country". Surely he meant the whole of our country.....

"When we were crowded into the shelters all last summer we read and heard about improved beaches in Tel Aviv, of festivals in Jerusalem. As near as Haifa everything was normal, while less than eighty miles away people were being killed and homes destroyed. Surely if there is war in Galilee, there can not be peace in Netanya".

Finally there is the overall atmosphere of uncertainty. Many families who left over the fourteen years of stress have come back and are anxious to make their contribution to the town. But with the removal of danger there is a possibility that the special consideration shown by the Government will no longer be manifested. Subsidies for the new enterprises may not be available, and deep down, never expressed, is the lurking doubt as to whether it really is over. The shelters are all cleaned out and ready—just in case.

One possibility of increased employment may be the Tourist Industry. The air is clear and cool at this height giving a welcome contrast in the summer to the humidity of

coast. The surroundings are superb and the people are friendly. Israeli tourism, which is in the doldrums, needs new ideas.

If the open border with Lebanon really becomes free for both sides there will be a considerable traffic back and forth. The Lebanese are no strangers to the Northern towns. Workers cross daily into the factories and farms, the shops and restaurants. Sports matches are frequent. Lebanese children get instruction at the Tennis Centre.

"The Lebanese are our partners in suffering. We know that they have been victims of the PLO just as we have and we would like to establish some joint ventures, mainly with regard to tourism, together with them", said an official in the town.

The word "peace" in Kiryat Shmonah has many connotations. Freedom to get on with living unhindered by the need to locate the nearest shelter. Increased industry, which will in turn attract more citizens. Prosperity that is not crippled by the demands of security. Friendship with the Lebanese neighbours and open borders. The thought of peace unites all the people of the region no matter what their political or national affiliation. On all their lips are the words, "we are all praying that it will last".

—News From Israel.
February, 1983

SOME THOUGHTS ON RAJA RAMMOHAN ROY

Dr. Jogindra Nath Chowdhuri writes :

Rammohan Roy is one of the greatest patriots whom India has ever seen, and in relation to Modern India, he is the harbinger

of new thoughts and new ideals with a view to impart a radiance of fresh light on the worn out systems and modes of living and raise our country from the abysmal darkness of mediaevalism. It was he who was the first Indian to realize the imperative necessities of the time and began to steer on the right course. He was ever steady in his actions and never jumped upon any line of work which was neither feasible nor practical. M. Victor Jacquemont, a cultured Frenchman, who met him in Calcutta on June 25, 1829, said, "Ram Mohan Roy was not a simple or ignorant man; he knew Christian theology as well as those who wished to be his masters. Endowed by nature with a feeling for religion, but freed from all prejudice, he had read the scriptures of the Christians critically and independently.....Ram Mohan Roy is a practical man. He is not a passionate idealist who attempts to realize impossible theories; all that he wants to do is to bring about the possible good; and however limited the measure of the possibility for the good may be, he is resigned to concentrate his effort within the channel in which it will be useful." He "has surprised me by the accuracy and the range of his knowledge of the various states of Europe.", (Modern Review June, 1926.)

Realizing the immense importance of Western Science and thought in moulding aright the life of the Indians, Rammohan welcomed them for the good of this country, with the belief that "modern civilization is not antagonistic to the heart of Hinduisim, and that the external trappings in which the two civilizations differ are mere accidents." He was of the opinion that as one true God pervades the universe and we are

the progenies of the same Father, we can accept whatever good there is in modern philosophy and science, without fear or suspicion. We should not have any hesitation to take any good thing from outside for the betterment and uplift of our condition, taking care, at the same time, not to lose our own precious "spiritual and intellectual heritage."

Acharya Jadunath Sarkar, the greatest historian of modern India, called Rammohan the Father and prophet of modern India. It was Rammohan who infused a spirit of new life—a spirit of freedom and of liberty into the benumbed, moribund souls showing the path to cut off all shackles of pettiness and narrow outlook and rise with an open and free mind in all spheres of human activities, viz, in education, in religion, in society and in matters connected with the country's economy and politics, with the best intention of imparting real peace, happiness and freshness to the whole of this country. In the name of One true God, his call to unity was for the whole of India,—a call which was unknown and unheard of, before. Such a sense of one united India came first from his voice alone. When the whole of India was disunited and in disarray, we can understand how difficult it was for him to give a clarion-call for such a unity. But we should, at the same time, try to appreciate with an open mind how appropriate and judicious was his call at a time of an unprecedented national disaster. It sowed the seed from which our subsequent movements for national unity took its cue. We have to remember, also, that his sense of nationalism did not in any way interfere with that of internationalism. He considered the whole human race as belonging to one great family, as his letter to The Minister of Foreign Affairs of France proves. I quote here its relevant portions which run

thus,—“It is now generally admitted that not religion only but unbiassed common-sense as well as the accurate deductions of scientific research lead to the conclusion that all mankind is one great family of which numerous nations and tribes existing are only various branches. Hence enlightened men in all countries feel a wish to encourage and facilitate human intercourse in every manner by removing as far as possible all impediments to it in order to promote the advantage and enjoyment of the whole human race.” Thus we find Rammohan's love and good-will not only for his own countrymen but also for all mankind.

We are fortunate that a person of such uncommon qualities and capabilities was born in India and specially in our midst in Bengal with his heart full of the milk of human kindness, to lift us from the quagmire into which we had fallen. Among the great thinkers and benefactors of modern India, his name stands on the summit of the hierarchy, and, it was he who was the first man in modern India to preach the universal religion of the Upanishads in a foreign land like England.

I have referred above some observations of Acharya Jadunath on Rammohan, and now, I shall recount some of the appreciative observations of another noted Indian historian, Dr. R. C Majumdar, who, as we are all aware, was, at times, very critical of Rammohan's activities. In spirit, he appreciated most or almost all of the benign activities of Raja. He said, “The first and foremost positive effect (of English education) is that it instilled into the minds of Indians a spirit of rational inquiry into the basis of their religion and society. This spirit is typified by the personality of Raja Rammohan Roy and led to the foundation

of the Brahma samaj. The Raja challenged the current religious beliefs and social practices of the Hindus as not being in consonance with their own scriptures. He tried to show that the belief in a multiplicity of divinities and worship of images, which formed the essence of the current and popular Hindu religion, was opposed to the teaching of the Vedas.....What really matters is his open and public protest against the blind acceptance of whatever passed current on the authority of priesthood or its interpretation of scriptures. The standard of revolt he thus raised against the medieval tyranny of dogmas unleashed forces which created what may be called Modern India and makes him worthy to rank by the side of Bacon and Luther.

"How much Hindu society needed...an element of reason to overcome the tyranny of gross superstition is illustrated by the practice of sati or burning of widows along with the dead bodies of their husbands. This inhuman practice, though widely prevalent, hardly shocked the sensibilities of any, and when Rammohan and others protested against this cruel custom quite a large number of educated and respectable Hindus came forward to defend it till the very last.

"Rammohan assailed the strongest part of the citadel of Hindu religion and society. He opposed the worship of images of gods and goddesses, denounced sati, polygamy, and abuses of the caste system, favoured remarriage of Hindu widows, and set at naught the prohibition of crossing the sea by his voyage to England. By these successive shocks he galvanised the dormant Hindu society and set in motion that liberalism in thought and action which has enabled it to shake off the fetters of ages."

"It is not a mere accident that Raja Rammohan Roy who introduced rationalistic principles in social and religious ideas, was also the pioneer of political reforms in modern India." Dr. Majumdar was also of the opinion that "the Brahma Samaj..... effectively helped the progress of Hindu society; first, by stemming the tide of conversion to Christianity; secondly, by holding a living example of society based on progressive and liberal views; and thirdly, by supplying eminent persons who advanced liberal ideas in other spheres of life such as politics." (British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance, part II, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, pp. 92,94.) It may be noted in this connection that the differences of opinion which we have on some of his uncharitable observations on Raja Rammohan Roy cannot be discussed in this short treatise and, so, I leave this matter here. Suffice it to say, that if we have to study aright the history of modern India, we have to start with a good study of the life and activities of the Raja with an open and unbiased mind. Another dedicated man for the cause of his country, Swami Vivekananda, in referring to him, said, "as the rose gives perfume,—because it is its own nature,—utterly unconscious of giving. The great Hindu reformer, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, was a wonderful example of this unselfish work. He devoted his whole life to helping India.....He cared nothing for fame or for results to himself." (Inspired Talks, 13th Edition pp. 168-169.) What importance Dr. Majumdar attached to Rammohan's works may also be gathered from the following sentence. He said, "The work, begun by Raja Rammohan Roy, of rejuvenating the Indian life was considerably advanced by Swamiji. (British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance' part II, p. 130) Vivekananda himself admitted, that in things

uch as, "his acceptance of the Vedant, his reaching of patriotism, and the love that embraced the Mussulman equally with the Hindu" had been taken up by him "that the breadth and foresight of Ram Mohan Roy had mapped out," (Notes on Some Wandering with the Swami Viveknanda, by Sister Nivedita, 6th edition, p. 14.) Without pursuing this matter further this much may be said that almost all the great thinkers and workers for the regeneration of India, coming after Rammohan, followed, more or less, the path mapped out by him.

—News from The Indian Messenger
—January 21, 1983

THE SECOND CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SRI LANKA*

W. A. Wiswa Warnapala Writer

he Constitution of 1972, by laying down the requirement of a two-thirds majority for the amendment of the Constitution, injected some rigidity into the Constitution. The Constitution of 1978 incorporated two such rigid requirements; article 82 (5) refers to the requirement of a two-third majority while section 83 states that such a bill needs to be approved by the people at a referendum. According to the Select Committee, certain fundamental provisions of the Constitution, though they have been passed with a two-thirds majority, are not to be amended without the approval of the people obtained by the employment of the device of the referendum. This procedure needs to be adopted in order to introduce changes in the basic

structure of Government (Articles 1-4), the place of Buddhism (Article 9), fundamental rights incorporated in articles 10 and 11, and the extension of the term of office of the President and the life of President (Article 82), and this indicates that certain vital aspects of the Constitution cannot be amended by the legislature. Chapter XIII of the Constitution deals with this question of the referendum, and there are two ways by which a Bill is submitted to the people. The President, on his own, can submit a bill with the certification of the Cabinet of Ministers and the Supreme Court, as stated elsewhere, can rule on that the necessity to obtain the approval of the people through a referendum. Any bill, with certain exceptions, which has been rejected by Parliament, can be submitted to the people by referendum by the President at his own discretion. This is certain to create a conflict between the legislature and the President who, in this context, may have to take a decision to dissolve Parliament. The next important thing is that under this provision, the president submits ordinary bills, and he appeals to the total electorate to give a verdict. This provision has been devised with a view to preventing conflict between the Government and Parliament. Article 85 (3) states that 'an absolute majority of the valid votes cast at a referendum' is necessary to obtain the approval of the people.⁸⁶ Any matter which in the opinion of the President is of national importance can be submitted to the people by the President. This shows that the referendum procedure is not confined to proposals which originate in the legislature in the form of bills. Whether this provision will include issues on which legislation being contemplated is still not clear. All these provisions relat-

ing to the device of the referendum, though interfering with supremacy of the elected legislature, enhances the role of the executive Presidency. A measure which has been passed with a two thirds majority, can be repudiated by a verdict of the people at a referendum and this, in effect, derogates from the supremacy of the legislature. The device of the referendum has been made operative in the constitutional systems of the advanced countries. Great Britain made use of this device to solve an issue which cut across political parties, and this provides ample testimony to the fact that the referendum procedure cannot be utilised for all ordinary bills not dealing with fundamentals. The procedure written into the Constitution does not prevent it from being used for such bills. Above all, the use of this procedure demands a certain degree of sophistication and a level of political development, and this, the authors of the Constitution thought, is found in the electorate which is used to changing Governments. The maturity, which the people displayed at General Elections, cannot be expected at a referendum, which, in my view, will not generate the same enthusiasm as in a General Election. The Select Committee, however, thought that the device of the referendum provided 'further recognition' to the sovereignty of the people.⁸⁷ No referendum has been held so far and this, therefore, prevents us from making an assessment of this objective of strengthening the sovereignty of the people.

Certain important changes have been introduced in the area of the public services. The two institutions—the State Services Advisory Board and the State Services Disciplinary Board—have been replaced with a Public Service Commission. Control of disciplinary matters, as under the Soulbury

Constitution, has been handed over to the Public Service Commission. The appointment of committees to deal with disciplinary matters became the practice during the period of the Soulbury Constitution, and the same technique, with a few changes, has been written into the Constitution of 1978. The Cabinet of Ministers, under Article 57 of the Constitution, directs the Chairman of the PSC to appoint a committee of the Commission to deal with specific categories of public officers, and even appeals from among public officers could come within the purview of such a committee. The ultimate authority for altering, varying or rescinding any appointment order of transfer or dismissal or any matter relating to disciplinary control was vested in the Cabinet of Ministers, which, as in the Constitution of 1972, enjoys overall control on all matters relating to the public bureaucracy of the island. The next significant innovation is the transplation of the institution of the Ombudsman. The growth in the activities of the Government and the related expansion in the structures in the first two decades after independence demanded the introduction of this device as a means of safeguarding the interests of the people. The politicisation of the bureaucracy in the last two decades gave further encouragement to this demand for an Ombudsman. The Report of the Select Committee admitted that the existing judicial remedies were inadequate to redress the grievances of the people, and Chapter XIX of the Constitution, which includes the section on the Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration, states that The PCA is 'charged with the duty of investigating and reporting upon complaints or allegations of the infringement of fundamental rights and other injustices by public officers, and officers of public corporations, local authorities and other like institutions'.⁸⁸

The PCA is to be appointed by the President and holds office during good behaviour. His salary will be determined by Parliament and it cannot be diminished during his term of office. This indicates, that he, in reality, will be independent of the Government, and removal is only on the basis of an address of Parliament. The success of the PCA depends to a large extent on the nature of his independence and things such as the remuneration and the prestige conferred on the holder of the office are, therefore, important. In the case of the United Kingdom, the members of Parliament act as 'filters' for the PCA who investigates the complaints and reports back to the respective member of Parliament. This procedure could have been successful in the context of the single member constituency system where the member of Parliament came to be identified with certain local interests. The introduction of proportional representation diminishes (the local role) of the member of Parliament and this development, in my view, will not make him the 'filter' for the PCA. The PCA has to build a strong tradition of impartial criticism of Government administration, the emergence of which depends largely on the first holder of this office. The adoption of the device of the Ombudsman, in the context of a growth of political controls over the bureaucracy, as a part of the parliamentary process is certain to result in a loss of efficiency and an erosion of responsibility of the Minister. The innovation, however, is acceptable for Sri Lanka in the context of the erosion of the parliamentary opportunities hitherto enjoyed by the members of Parliament.

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87. Report of the Select Committee. p.148
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—University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka

ATISA DIPANKARA SRIJNANA: A FRIEND. PHILOSOPHER & GUIDE*

By

Sri Manindra Prasad Chawdhury

In the hey-day of Buddhism with the royal patronage, the scholar-saints, in compliance with the Master's words spread the Dhamma for the good and welfare of all out of love and compassion for them. Being mindful of that teaching Atisa Dipankara Srijnana, a celebrated son of Bengal and India of whom we are so proud, went out to spread the Dhamma from the land of its origin to the far off land of Tibet which was then a forbidden and mysterious land for the foreigners....

Atisa Dipankara Srijnana was born in 982 A.D. in a hamlet named Vajrayoni of Vikrampur district of Dacca in Bengal, and in a ruling Brahmin family. His father being Kalyansri, a ruler of Sa-hore, an ardent Buddhist and his mother Prabhavati too was a devout Buddhist. His family name was Chandragarba. The title Atisa Dipankara Srijnana was the combination of his scholastic name and the monastic one. Atisa was conferred by the Tibetans for his profound scholarship and accomplishments; and Dipankara Srijnana, the monastic name after initiation into Buddhist sramanerahood. He was born at a time when the famous Pala dynasty of Bengal was ruling, and hundreds and thousands of Buddhists' hamlets in Bengal were reverberating with the echo of Trisaran-

Atisa Dipankara Millenium Anniversarp is observed this year in several countries including India and Bangladesh. This paper was presented at a function held on the 15th November in the University Institute Hall, Calcutta under the auspices of All India Buddhist Mission—Ed.

Buddham,Dhammam.....Sangham saranam gacchami. The Palas of Bengal, it might be recalled, reigned from the 8th to the 12th century A. D. Buddhism was in full glory at the time of Pala kings who were devout Buddhists. The name commencing from Dharmapala who founded Vikramasila University in the 8th century A. D. to several others including Ramapala (1084 to 1130 A. D.) who founded Jagaddala vihara which afterwards developed as a University are to be reckoned with in the history of development of Buddhism.

Chandragarbha i. e. Atisa was born at such a time when the Pala king Narapala, the son of Mahipala was the ruler of Gaur. After receiving elementary education at home, Chandragarbha went to Rev. Jetari, a monk and grammarian teacher who was then residing in a forest monastery of Sa-hore. Observing his inquisitiveness for learning, Rev. Jetari asked him to go to Nalanda the famous seat of Buddhist learning. Accordingly, Chandragarbha went to Nalanda and met Sthavira Bodhibhadra, his prospective teacher. Rev. Bodhibhadra offered yellow robes and ordained him into Buddhist sramanerahood under the name of Dipankara Srijnana. Then he was sent to Avadhutipada, a teacher well-versed in Buddhism at Rajgrha. He studied there from the age of twelve to eighteen. It is learnt that he was also sent to Rahula Gupta in Kanheri i. e. modern Krishnagiri near Bombay and learnt Tantric Buddhism under him. Thereafter he was conferred the title of 'Guhyajnavajra' i.e. Vajra of secret knowledge. By virtue of his knowledge of such shastra, he subdued the pride of Ratnabhadra, a great Tibetan tantric yogi. After completion of studies in Nalanda he proceeded to Vikramasila University and

studied further tantra under Nadapada or Naropa, a great mystic saint and gate professor. This great seat of learning was famous. It had six entrances. There was a gate professor at each gate for testing the ability for entrance. People from far and near came to this university for learning. Thereafter he went to Odantapuri, another Buddhist University for learning. From there he went to Vajrasana Gandhakuti Vihara at Buddha-gaya and studied under Mahayinayadhara Silaraksita. There he was ordained into full-fledged bhikkhuhood under him. He was not yet contented with knowledge and learning for him knew no ends. So he determined to sail for Suvarnadwipa i. e. Sumatra in 1030 A. D. Accordingly, he left for the destination at the age of thirty-one and reached there after a perilous voyage of fifteen months. He studied there under Acharya Dharmapala for twelve years the shastras like Abhisamayalankara, Bodhicariyavatara and other important subjects. Thereafter he returned to India after paying visit to Ratnadwipa (Sri Lanka) and some other countries on way back home. Then he settled at Vikramasila where in appreciation of his profound scholarship and vast knowledge and experience, he was appointed the head of pundits in the realm and more than hundreds of monastic institutes. Meanwhile he also studied Tantra under Dombipa, the fourth of the eighty-four Siddhas and Bhutakotipada, Prajnapada and Ratnakarasanti. Thus he became proficient not only in Buddhist lore but also in other Indian systems and Tantricism.

These qualities ultimately enabled him to attract the admiration of the ruling hierarchy in the country and Narapala, the ruler of Pala dynasty, invited him to accept the post of the chief abbot of

Vikramsila where fifty-seven pundits, well-versed in their respective subjects, were teaching. He accepted the post. While at Vikramsila, he wrote some books and compiled others. At that time Odantapuri was also nourished by him. His dedicated life for propagation of the good doctrine of the Buddha and upliftment of the moral qualities of men was really admirable! While at Vikramsila, the news of his reputation reached far off countries including Tibet which later on became the focal point in his career.

CONDITION IN TIBET:

Tibet was then in a state of anarchy and religious crisis and Buddhism was the succour for the country and its people. At that time in Central Tibet the tantric religion, 'Bon', a kind of nature worship with heterogeneous culture was in vogue and degeneration through admixture of kokshastra (indulging in sexualism) presaged a crisis. It is said that eighty-four Siddhas appeared by this time who indulged in the culture by invoking demon spirits and angels. Consequently, a degeneration followed in its wake and the true-spirit of religion declined. Having watched the situation, a western Tibetan king Ye-shesod renounced the kingdom and became a monk himself. It was during his time that Buddhism survived, and, "Rin-Chan-bzang-po" (958-1055 A. D.), who visited Aryavarta (India) several times and is credited with religious propagation in the western Tibetan kingdom of Gu-ge as well as translation of Buddhist texts, did much to revive Buddhism. Under the impact of his activity Buddhism was strengthened in Central Tibet also. Besides there is an interesting account of the king's conversion to Buddhism.

INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM:

Tibet which was so long in a state of anarchy and confusion under the feudal rulers due to internecine quarrel and rivalry pined for peace and toleration.... From the 7th century onwards, a number of Indian scholars were invited there including the famous tantric Padmasambhava from Nalanda in 749 A. D. and the greatest scholar-saint Atisa from the Vikramsila University in 1042 A. D. The scholars from Bengal and Behar, which were then strongholds of Buddhism were invited.

SOJOURN TO TIBET:

At this critical juncture of history in Tibet the appearance of Dipankara Srijnana ushered in a new ray of hope for the Tibetans. An offer from Tibetan king and his ministers came to Dipankara Srijnana while he was in Vikramsila Mahavihara (University) for his visit to Tibet. They sent Virivasinha, a Tibetan scholar for the purpose but Dipankara declined to go outside the country in view of his pre-occupation at Vikramsila. Then Jyasila; another emissary was sent. Both of them went to Dipankara Srijnana and implored him for paying a visit which he at last conceded. Meanwhile pending his preparation for departure, Viriyasimha and Jaysila began studies in Vikramsila. Dipankara Srijnana intimated the news to the in-charge of the Mahavihara, Mahasthavira Ratnakarapada who though reluctant at first, gave his consent at last for the greater cause of spreading Dhamma and for the benefit of the people of Tibet....

They arrived at Nepal in 1014 A. D. and at the request of Nepalese king Anantakirti, Dipankara stayed for a year. Meanwhile he ordained Padmaprabha, a royal prince

and built a Buddhist temple named Samatha (Tranquillity) with the patronage of the king. Then after a year he set out for Tibet in 1042 A. D. via Mastang probably. After an arduous and trouble-some journey, he arrived at Tholing in Western-Tibet and was received cordially by the king Od-Ze. Then he was sixty-one years old....

ATISA'S CONTRIBUTION:

During his stay for about thirteen years in Tibet, Atisa devoted himself whole heartedly for propagation of Buddhism. He reformed their old heretical prejudices and enlightened them on the true doctrine of the Buddha and Indian culture and civilization. He reformed the Sangha i. e. brotherhood of monks. Keeping in view the primary need of the people, he composed a short text dealing with the essentials of Buddhism which was distributed among the people. He wrote a commentary of Kalacakra system of Tantricism and introduced a new calendar in Tibet. Atisa enriched Tibetan literature by rendering many Indian works into Tibetan language. About two hundred works are ascribed to him of which Bodhipatha Pradipa, Mahayana Path, Sadhana-varnasangraha, Chariyasangraha Pradipa, Mahajanapatha Sangraha Sutrārtha Sumuccayopadesha, Madhyamopadesha, Dashakushala-Karmopadesha, Budhisattva Manjyabali, Bodhisattvakarmmadi-margavatara, Samadhi-Sambhavarivarta, Gurukriya-karma and Sikshasamuccaya etc. etc. are important. During his life time, the famous sa-kya monastery was built at his instance. Thereafter Kadampa sect was born based on his interpretation of Buddhism. Later on it developed into the famous Gelu-pa (yellow Hats) sect, less ascetic but highly esoteric i. e. ritualistic in nature under the leadership of Tsong-kha-

pa in 1457 A. D. 'With the rise of fifth Dalai Lama, "says Dr. Anukul Chandra Banerjee, "it became the more powerful sect in Tibet. The present Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama belong to this sect. The sskya-pas and Kargyapas which are said to have been founded by the Tibetan saint Marpa and his follower Mila-res-pa, the most famous of the poet-saints of Tibet. The Mission of Atisa in Tibet is notable in various respects. Thus Dipankara's contribution to the thought and cultural life of the Tibetans was immense indeed." (Vide-Buddhism-in India-And Abroad). This period is regarded as the golden era in Tibetan literature and culture.

The contribution of Atisa Dipankara Srijnana to the lives of the Tibetans and fusion of Indo-Tibens relation through the message of the Buddha, Indian culture and civilization cannot be expressed in words. He was himself a colossus, a friend, philosopher and guide. His profound scholarship, versatility of knowledge and experience as a teachersaint made him what he was, a true messenger of Buddhist doctrine and a representative of a Mission of friendship and peace from the land of the Buddha.

END OF AN ERA.

After strenuous exertion in establishing Buddhism in Tibet Atisa Dipankara Srijnana breathed his last at the age of seventy-three in a monastery of sNye-Thang in 1054 A.D.; and was buried there. With him, there ended a glorious era for India when her message of love and peace taught by the Buddha was propagated etc. i. e. for the good and welfare of all including gods and men.

Excepts From The Maha Bodhi
October—December, 1983

No Person Shall Be Deprived Of Life, Liberty Or Property Without Due Process Of Law.

—Amendment v, U. S. Constitution

AN ENDURING GUARANTEE

A. G. NOORANI writes

Great concepts like "due process of law" were "purposely left to gather meaning from experience. For they relate to the whole domain of social and economic fact." When Justice Felix Frankfurter wrote these lines in a dissenting opinion in 1949, he was recording a conversion as radical as that of Paul on the road to Damascus. For, not very long before, he had pronounced an anathema in these ringing words—"The due process clause ought to go."

This momentous phrase has for nearly two centuries shaped the constitutional history of the United States and shown a remarkable capacity for adaptation. It is, perhaps, the most consequential phrase in the Constitution of the United States. Critics who condemned it as "that incorrigible changeling" or ridiculed it for its "chameleon capacity" to change its color with changing moods and circumstances overlooked its intrinsic worth and its standing in popular esteem. To the people at large, it was the the supreme guarantee of justice under the law.

That said, one cannot ignore the fact that for well-nigh a half century (1887-1937) "due process of law" was not just a guarantee of justice but also sanction for "government by the judiciary." The United States Supreme Court became in effect, a Third Chamber of the Congress and an unelected one at that. The phase ended only to give the clause greater relevance and renewed strength. It

had acquired a wholly unwarranted gloss as a "substantive" guarantee whereby the Court acquired the power to rule on the content of the law. This belongs to the past. Procedural due process which endures is concerned with the basic norms of fair play to which a law in a democratic society must conform. Daniel Webster, one of the greatest American orators of all time, defined it beautifully: "The general law, a law which hears before it condemns, which proceeds upon inquiry, and renders judgment only after trial" so "that every citizen shall hold his life, liberty, property and immunities under the protection of the general rules which govern society."

It is not due process of law to cover naked arbitrary power with the cloak of law and make it respectable. To wit, acts of attainder, of confiscation, acts reversing judgments, "legislative judgments and decrees, and other similar special, partial and arbitrary exertions of power under the forms of legislation." These were common on the European continent and in England under the Stuarts and before them. Those who founded the United States of America were determined to outlaw such practices on their soil. They enacted as part of the Bill of Rights the Fifth Amendment which contains many a vital procedural safeguard for a fair trial such as indictment by a grand jury, protection against selfincrimination, and against being convicted twice for the same offense (the double jeopardy clause) and against the taking of private property for public use without just compensation.

In between these prohibitions—all preceded by the peremptory words "No person shall be"—occur these splendid words: "nor be deprived of life, liberty or property, without

"due process of law." The Amendment was ratified by the states on December 15, 1791. Its lineage goes back to that Great Charter—the Magna Carta of 1215. Section 29 declared: "No free man shall be taken, cutlawed, banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will we proceed against or prosecute him, except by the lawful judgment of his peers and by the law of the land." In 1354 a confirmation of the Magna Carta by King Edward III replaced "law of the land" with "due process of the law." By the end of the century the two expressions came to mean the same thing.

As Edmund Burke noted, the leaders of the American Revolution were steeped in the law. New York's "Charter of Libertyes and Privileges" (1683) used the words "due course of law."

When the first congress under the Constitution of the United States met in April 1789, James Madison proposed the Bill of Rights. He followed New York's precedent and drafted the Fifth Amendment to include the expression "due process of the law." His own state, Virginia, had preferred the expression "the law of the land.".....

THE WORDS DUE PROCEST WERE INTENDED
TO SECURE THE INDIVIDUAL FROM THE
ARBITRARY EXERCISE OF THE POWERS
OF GOVERNMENT.

—Supreme Court. 1819

Due process of law was a negation of absolute power. The enforcement of those constitutional limitations by the judicial

process "is the device of selfgoverning communities to protect the rights of individuals and minorities, as well as against the power of numbers, as against the violence of public agents transcending the limits of lawful authority, even when acting in the name and wielding the force of the government."

Due process had begun to expand and in ways more than one. The Fifth Amendment, like the rest of the Bill of Rights was a curb on federal power. The 39th congress extended the guarantee to curb the powers of the states by enacting the Fourteenth Amendment which, among other things, said....."nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law." As we have noted already (SPAN, November 1982) the Supreme Court cautiously and deftly used the due process clause in the Fourteenth Amendment to apply the Bill of Rights to the states by simply treating their violation as denial of "due process of law." The Fourteenth Amendment was ratified on July 23, 1868. We are here concerned with it only insofar as it affected the interpretation of the due process clause in the Fifth Amendment. The Supreme Court interpreted the clause in both amendments in the same sense except in the rare cases where the context, federal or state, warranted a different meaning. It was not a one-sided affair. Thus, the Court ruled that "While the Fifth Amendment contains no equal protection clause (unlike the Fourteenth Amendment), it does forbid discrimination that is so unjustifiable as to be violative of due process." Its extension to the states gave a spurt to litigation and consequently to the process of interpretation.

The due process clause now became, as Justice Robert H. Jackson put it, "the rallying point for those who resisted the efforts of the states of to control the excesses and relieve the oppressions of a rising industrial economy.....Beginning 1890 it was a fortunate and relatively innocuous piece of reform legislation that was able to run the gauntlet of the due process clause."

It brought the phrase almost into disrepute. The limit was reached in 1905 in the famous case of *Lochner v. New York* when the Court struck down a law which limited working hours to 10 daily and 60 weekly as an interference with a bakery worker's right to work longer hours.

When between 1934 and 1936 as many as 16 New Deal laws were struck down, President Franklin D. Roosevelt propounded his plan to "pack" the Supreme Court by adding new members, who would support his views, to the traditional nine. Fortunately, the plan was defeated but the Court "saw reason."

Within three months of the defeat of the plan in February 1937, the President won two favorable rulings from the Court. It was, as the wag said, "the switch in time that saved nine."

Strewn all over the reports of the Supreme Court's cases since are retrospective comments by Justices on the Court's earlier record on due process. The best such critique was by Justice Hugo Black: "We refuse to sit as a 'superlegislature to weigh the wisdom of legislation,' and we emphatically refuse to go back to the time when courts used the Due Process Clause 'to strike down state laws regulatory of business and industrial conditions, because they may be unwise, improvident, or out of harmony with a particular school of thought.' Nor are we able or willing to draw lines by calling a law 'prohibitory' or 'regulatory.' Whether the

legislature takes for its textbook Adam Smith, Herbert Spencer, Lord Keynes, or some other is no concern of ours." In his magnificent dissent in *Lochner's* case, Oliver Wendell Holmes had tartly reminded his colleagues that the due process clause, in the Fourteenth Amendment, "does not enact Mr. Herbert Spencer's Social Statics."

Certainly, by the mid-Forties substantive due process had vanished into history. But its memories were strong enough to deter the framers of India's Constitution from incorporating the due process clause. In his excellent book *The Indian Constitution*, Granville Austin, a distinguished American, has explained how it happened. The Fundamental Rights subcommittee had included the clause in its classic form. The Constituent Assembly rejected the clause on December 13, 1948, after the ghosts of *Lochner* and its like were paraded before it. Article 21 of the Indian Constitution says that "no person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law."

However, in 1970 the Supreme Court of India ruled that the "law must be one which is not inconsistent with the other fundamental rights. In 1978 it went further. It ruled that the "procedure" must be one which is "right and just and fair." This is the essence of procedural due process. In the United States, the Supreme Court having discarded the dead weight of substantive due process, took impressive steps in perfecting the safeguard of procedural due process by redefining the concept.

Justice Frankfurter put it neatly: "Due process of law is a summarized constitutional guarantee of respect for those personal immunities which are 'so rooted in the traditions and conscience of our people as to be ranked as fundamental' or are implicit in the concept of ordered liberty."

*Due Process Is A
Summarized Constitutional
Guarantee Of Respect For
Those Personal Immunities
Which Are So Rooted In The
Traditions And Conscience
Of Our People As To
Be Ranked As Fundamental.*

—Justice Felix Frankfurter

"The vague contours of the Due Process Clause do not leave judges at large. We may not draw on our merely personal and private notions and disregard the limits that bind judges in their judicial function. Even though the concept of due process of law is not final and fixed, these limits are derived from considerations that are fused in the whole nature of our judicial process....

"To believe that this judicial exercise of judgment could be avoided by freezing 'due process of law' at some fixed stage of time or thought is to suggest that the most important aspect of constitutional adjudication is a function for inanimate machines and not for judges, for whom the independence safeguarded by Article 3 of the Constitution was designed and who are presumably guided by established standards of judicial behavior. Even cybernetics has not yet made that haughty claim. To practice the requisite detachment and to achieve sufficient objectivity no doubt demands of judges the habit of self-discipline and self-criticism, incertitude that one's own views are incontestable and alert tolerance toward views not shared. But these are precisely the presuppositions of our judicial process. They are precisely the qualities society has a right to expect from those entrusted with ultimate judicial power."

Over the years the Court made more effective the right to be heard by any administrative agency which decision would affect the citizen's right or interest. "The opportunity to be heard" must be substantial and real. It applies also to cases of grant or refusal of a license. The principles of natural justice were given the fullest amplitude to include the right to confront and cross-examine, the right to inspect evidence sought to be used against the citizen and to have the case decided by an independent and unbiased officer.

Not only citizens, but even aliens have successfully sought the protection of the due process clause. Five resident aliens challenged the validity of a regulation, adopted by the Civil Service Commission and certain other federal agencies, which excluded all persons except American citizens and nationals of Samoa from employment in most positions. The Court held that the regulation "deprived these respondents (the aliens) of liberty without due process of law and is therefore invalid."

If such be the protection "due process of law" can secure to citizen and alien alike, the clause has more than justified its existence and proved its worth. "That incorrigible changeling" has revealed many a hue and aspect in the nearly two centuries of its existence. But while much changed, certain things remained constant. Foremost among them was the check on arbitrary power. That has endured.

News from—SPAN
February 1983

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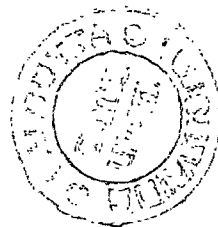
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NOTES

CENTRE—STATE RELATIONS

When India became independent there was one major national party namely the Congress which ruled both at the Centre and the States. The framers of the Constitution thus had no hesitation in formulating the need for relative autonomy at state level for certain subjects while at the sametime ensured the Unity and integrity of the Country through a strong central government. In this manner linguistic, cultural and regional problems were to be handled at state level more effectively, while at Central level common matters of vital importance to the whole nation i.e. foreign affairs, Defence etc would be decided. By the '60s' however certain new trends became perceptible in this sphere, the major one being the emphasis laid on regional demands together with the emergence of regional parties. By the mid '70s' the same national party was no longer ruling both Centre and states and in the '80s' we find several of these regional parties firmly established eg the AIADMK in Tamil Nadu, the Telegu Desam in Andhra Pradesh, The

Left-front in W. Bengal, the CPI (M) in Tripura, the Janata-kranti Ranga in Karnataka and the National Conference in Jammu Kashmir. During the course of the last decade the Centre and states have differed on important issues and this has led to repeated demands for review of Centre-State relations.

In June '83 the Government of India announced the appointment of a Commission under the Chairmanship of Mr. Justice Sarkaria with certain terms of reference to investigate this matter. As basically the Centre—State relations form a vital part of our Constitution, it is necessary to examine these terms of reference in order to assure ourselves of the exact powers of the Commission. Will the Commission be able to amend the Constitution in case of necessity? Has the Commission the power to satisfy the Socio-economic demands of the states?

On perusing the terms of reference we find that "The Commission will examine and review the working of the existing arrangements between the Union and the

States in regard to powers, functions and responsibilities in all spheres and recommend such changes or other measures as may be appropriate". On the other hand we note that while carrying out this review the Commission will "keep in view the social and economic developments that have taken place over the years and have due regard to the scheme and framework of the Constitution which the Founding Fathers have so sedulously designed to protect the independence and ensure that unity and integrity of the country which is of paramount importance for promoting the welfare of the people."

Apparently the terms of reference are wide enough to include constitutional amendments although the emphasis on preserving the "unity and integrity" of India has been interpreted by some of the regional parties to be a counterpoise to State autonomy, as they feel that the consideration of state autonomy has been thereby excluded.

In the main there appear to be several fundamental issues involved—Constitutional, Fiscal and political. Taking these in order Constitutionally the question of federalism as expounded in our Constitution provides the guideline to the existing balance between the states and the Centre. When reviewing this balance the Commission has therefore a choice of retaining the Status Quo, or giving greater autonomy to the states at the cost of the Centre, or creating a methodology whereby both the Centre and the states grow in strength within the framework of the Constitution.

One of the main points to remember also is that India was, in the eyes of the Founding Fathers, a Union of States. The question of emphasizing their objective to have been the promotion of Unity and integrity of the

Country alone therefore, should not arise. In fact article 26 of the Constitution not only provides for the settlement of disputes between the States, but also covers the question of investigation and discussion of subjects "in which some or all of the states or the Union and one or more of the states have a common interest." Furthermore a perusal of Constitutional history shows that the question of federalism, specifically the balance between the Centre and the states, has interested experts from the early years of this Century. Previously the pendulum was towards the Centre being more powerful than the States. Now the position is changing with the States demanding more powers or as much powers, as the Centre.

The other problems of Centre-States relations are fiscal and political. At an early stage, many of the states were primarily demanding a change in fiscal relations with a greater quantum of transfer of revenues from Centre to the States eg W. Bengal wanting 75% of such revenues while Tamil Nadu demanded 60% together with the appointment of a fiscal Commission.

Thus we see that the entire review of these relations will depend upon the terms of reference of the Sarkaria Commission. For on the one hand working within the existing Constitutional framework limits its powers to amend the balance if found necessary. On the other the spirit of the Constitution cannot be ignored. In other words the principle of the States' Autonomy stands and it is only the scope of the autonomy which is being reviewed and if the states must be reminded during these investigations of the importance of retaining the Unity and integrity of the Country, the centre will also have to remember that it cannot be judge and jury in its own cause and interests.

REPRINT

PROBLEMS OF THE DAY IN THE PERIODICALS OF THE MONTH

Modern Review—August, 1911

I

COLOUR CONFLICT AND IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

For brutal frankness it would be impossible to excel Mr. James Edmond, who writes in the July "National Review" on "the Australian Fleet." Mr. Edmond is a typical Colonial of indifferent education, vulgar antecedents, and infinite conceit. His claims to be heard upon the subject on which he writes lie in the fact that he is the editor of perhaps the most jingoistic of the papers, the "Sydney Bulletin." He stands for what he calls a white Australia. Australia must be absolutely a white-man's country: no non-white peoples, whether they come from within or outside the British Empire, shall be permitted to poach on this preserve. The Australian fleet, when it comes into existence, "will be found, (when the day comes for defining the situation,) to exist, first, for the purpose of keeping Australia a white man's country against all comers, and second, (only second) for the defence of the mostly coloured Empire." The Empire must be for Australia and not Australia for the Empire. The real imperial unity can only be racial unity, and in view of it, even the German conquest of England would, the writer asserts, "be quite a minor evil compared with a great influx of our allegedly peaceful and loyal Coloured fellow subjects from India, or from anywhere else."

"In fact, if German conquest were the only visible safeguard against such an influx, it might even be welcomed. One Country talks much of the Flag, the other thinks mostly of the Race. The Flag is calico, or some other form of soft goods; the Race is alive and it is flesh and blood. The Flag connotes our fellow subject who may be a fetish worshipper or a tree dweller. The Race implies a widely different relationship."

The Two Imperial Ideals There are two ideals of Empire in England: one liberal and rational, the other narrow and jingoistic. The former looks forward to a time when the British Empire will be a federation of free communities of different Colours and races, and will form thus, the first step towards the realisation of the poet's dream of a universal human federation. The other hopes to work out a closer union between the white dominions through the consolidation of their economic and political interests in a common work and privilege of exploiting and keeping in perpetual subjection the non-white peoples, constituting the present British Empire. The Australian Imperialist of the type of Mr. Edmond, belongs to this second class. If Imperial federation means a federation of the white colonies only, he is in favour of the idea, but if a really Imperial Parliament, with power to deal with really,

Imperial affairs all over the Empire, were to be vested with "the authority to decide that the coloured fellow subject has just as much right as a white citizen to move freely and settle freely throughout the Empire, then no good Australian would dream for a moment of being represented in it." And if this ideal of an Imperial Federation gains force, and the Coloured Subjects of the Empire are granted the full rights of Imperial citizenship, then an Australian fleet, forming part of the Imperial navy, under the command of an Imperial Government entertaining such ideas would have no use for the Australian people. "It is better to have no ships at all than to have them and place them in the hands of an enemy, and this would, most unfortunately, be a case of putting them in the hands of an enemy."

"The White Australia idea is not a political theory. It is a gospel. It counts for more than religion; far more than the flag, because the flag waves over all kinds of races; far more than the Empire, for the Empire is mostly black, or brown, or yellow; is largely heathen; largely polygamous; partly cannibal. Some of it is married to its deceased wife's sister, which may not be objectionable; but a huge proportion of it still believes at its heart in the burning alive of its deceased brother's widow, and that is wholly reprehensible. In fact, the white Australia doctrine is based on the necessity for choosing between national existence or national suicide. Australia is so far from Europe and North America, and is so close to Asia, that if it opened its gates it could easily get a hundred coloured immigrants for one white—not the Kaffir variety of coloured immigrant,

but a kind which is capable of competing in all kinds of skilled craftsmanhip. Supposing this influx set in, the country's present working class would disappear for exactly the same reason which has prevented any white working class appearing in India, Burmah, or Ceylon. Probably it would be found, as in the Indian dominions, that a white ruling caste of about half a million folk would fulfil all requirements. That would mean the vanishment of nearly nine-tenths of the present white population. And with this new arrangement of things, a wonderful dream would pass like the smoke of yesterday's cigar."

The Impossibility of the Situation.

But we shall be doing an injustice to the writer of this strong plea for a white Empire, if we do not recognise that he himself is fully aware of the endless complexities and the hopeless contradictions of the present situation in regard to Britain's Imperial possessions and policy. If the Empire is to be retained as essentially a white-man's empire, the coloured subject must be vigorously kept "in his place." In the first place it must be recognised as suicidal to teach him the language of his masters, and thus enable him "to read Mill on *Liberty*, and to study the histories of Cromwell and Washington, and to assimilate the political doctrine that there should be no taxation without representation." But he will have to be starved, not only intellectually, but physically also. "Sanitation and all manner of improvements, which are making the coloured subjects of the British Empire so numerous, that when the time comes to argue the point with them, the agreement

will be a very difficult one," all these must be stopped. Nor would this alone solve the difficulty. Great Britain, Mr. Edmond points out, "is the home of missionary enterprise, and its missionaries are addicted to teaching the coloured-races that all men are equal in the sight of God, and when the coloured man really learns that he is equal in the sight of God, he will certainly wonder why he should not also be equal in the sight of Herbert Henry Asquith, Prime Minister and first lord of the Treasury, who is admittedly a personage of less importance than God." So missionary enterprise also must be stopped. Something more yet must be done. Recent British policy in regard to Asiatic Powers like China and Japan will have to be reversed. Great Britain has been extremely foolish in recognising Japan as her equal, whether she could help it, is a question that does not trouble this writer. Britain's apparently benevolent interest in China, which is striving for the status of a great world-power, her open approval of the establishment of the Russian Duma, the Persian and Turkish Parliaments and the movement towards representative institutions in China, while she herself persists in continuing to be the only great Asiatic power which denies its subjects any real Parliamentary control over their own destinies—all these are proofs of the policy of listless drift which has all along been pursued in the management of the Empire." The position," Mr. Edmond declares," is anomalous to-day, and it threatens to become impossible tomorrow."

"When the process of education has gone far enough, this great Empire—mostly black, or brown, or yellow, mostly non-Christian, largely polygamous and adorned here and

there with a thin fringe of cannibalism—is likely to be confronted with some serious demands on the part of its more advanced coloured inhabitants. They will probably ask for a share in the Government of the Empire, which demand, as the granting of it would amount to a wholesale transfer of the control of the Empire, will certainly be refused. They will assuredly ask for some real (not merely nominal) system of Home Rule, and as that would be a laying of the axe to the very root of British supremacy, there will be another refusal. They will probably demand that they shall have the same right as the Englishman to travel freely and settle freely throughout the Empire, and this matter may be complicated by a similar demand from any independent Asiatic power, which feels strong enough to raise that question, and which considers that Britain is weak enough, through foreign complications elsewhere, to allow of the question being raised. This last is a matter which would not seriously affect the British Isles. Consequently, the British Government, while utterly scorning the theoretical right of its coloured inhabitants to local self-Government, and to a share in the control of an Empire which mainly consists of him and his kind, has professed most serious and pious scruples about depriving him of his right to invade Australia or any other of the over-sea dominions which may suit his fancy. It was only with great difficulty that Australia secured the privilege of keeping itself white, and even now, it is not allowed to adopt an honest, straight forward policy of exclusion, but has to achieve its purpose by devious ways. It was told that it was impossible to allow any direct or avowed infringement of the sacred principle that all British subjects are equal. This attitude, in view of the denial

of Parliamentary rights and privileges to the vast majority of British subjects, seemed to Australia one of the most humorous hypocrisies in history, but the day was inopportune for mentioning the fact.

Still, it appears, that a time will almost certainly come, when one of two courses must be adopted.

(1) The white Australia policy must go ;

(2) It must be explained, once and for all to the coloured man who makes up the great mass of the Empire that he is an inferior being (he is already treated as one) and will never be anything else. And the same matter must be expounded to Britain's coloured friends and allies outside the Empire.



EUROCENTRISM IN HISTORY : A STUDY IN ENTRENCHED ATTITUDES

II

BURJOR JAL AVARI

AND

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The attitudes emerging from the sources just examined are evident in ample measure in the writings and works of the intellectuals in most branches of knowledge in the white world. Thus anthropologists are only interested in "primitive" tribes; geographers invariably concentrate on the penury of life in the tropical world;14 textbooks of Science hardly mention non-white achievements;15 Mathematics is invariably traced to Greece; Music is almost always European music; and religious education, until very recently, was confined to the study of Christianity. But in no subject is Eurocentrism carried to the extent that it is in history. A large number of historians both wittingly and unwittingly act as custodians of European ethnocentricity. They purvey myths about the non-European world, or interpret in a hostile way the culture norms of that world, or act as intellectual defenders of power and privilege. Some like Trevor-Roper16 or Fisher17 have shown a marked lack of sympathy with

the mainsprings of non-European cultures; while others, unable to rise beyond the European-inspired framework of their thinking, have fallen victim to the notion that the non-European world is an adjunct to the glories of European civilisation.18

There have been rare shafts of light in European historiography about non-white history, such as to be found in the writings of Toynbee,19 or Basil Davidson20 or Needham,21 but they are either too few or ignored by the mainstream European historians to make much impact.22 Eurocentrism continues unchallenged. It treats world history only as a story which leads inexorably to the rise of Western civilisation. It distorts the true perspective by ignoring what happened in the world beyond the West or by minimising their significance. Even the periodisation of history is based on European landmarks like the Dark Ages, the Reformation, or the Age of Capitalism and characterised by reference to

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European personalities such as Bismarck or Napoleon.

More than anything else, Eurocentric history gives deep offence to non-whites. That is a measure of its failure. One such book has just been published. Paul Johnson's *A History of the Modern World: From 1917 to the 1980s* is an ambitious, popular history of the 20th century; and among its positive qualities may be mentioned a lucid style, an encyclopaedic knowledge of some of the lesser known aspects of recent European history, and some shrewd assessments on the politicians and public figures of the Western world. The last sentence of the book reads: "Thus by the 1980's, the wiser minds amongst us had returned to Alexander Pope's conclusion 'The proper study of mankind is man'." One wishes that Johnson had taken more note of Pope's exhortation. His man is preeminently the European man. A useful clue to Johnson's Eurocentricity is to count the number of times and the context in which he mentions non-whites in his book. The book contains 734 pages, has a large index of 28 pages and mentions more than 1,200 personalities. From an examination table* given below, it is clear that there is a paucity of non-white names and especially of those in positions of esteem. What the table clearly shows is that Johnson is either unaware of the achievements of people outside his own world or that he chooses to ignore them. It does not occur to him to ask the question how he can write a history of the modern world without mentioning the artists, philosophers, scientists and other personalities who live outside the West.²³ It is this type of approach which is so responsible for perpetuating a whole series of unfavourable perceptions about the non-white peoples in the white world.

There are other characteristics of European ethnocentrism discussed earlier to be found in Johnson's book. With the almost religious fervour of a convert from the "socialist nightmare" to the "capitalist heaven", Johnson reacts predictably by laying the blame for most of the ills of this century on the growing powers of the State. To him, ideological distinctions between Communism and Fascism are an academic irrelevance; it is due to the fact that an increasing number of people have succumbed to the despotic utopias promised by these ideologies that responsibility is laid for the steady undermining of the economic, social and moral basis of European civilisation. Hitler, Stalin and Lenin, in equal measure, form the unholy trinity of Johnson's demonology. It is not, however, Johnson's long diatribe against Collectivism nor his failure to distinguish between the ideological nuances of different "isms" that need detain us any further. It is his perception of non-white societies and how that perception has been moulded by his brand of ethnocentrism that needs further exploration.

Johnson's clear antipathy to Marxism (as he describes any form of communist ideology) is an over-riding consideration, so that his assessment of a country is clearly dependent on its "distance" from that ideology. He has a contempt for any tradition that deviates from the mainstream of Western bourgeois culture. And this is made immediately obvious by the negative images that he attaches to the offending culture. He exhibits a fundamental inability to relate to non-Europeans in a way which is shown by his construction of one-dimensional caricatures which he then proceeds to demolish. Indeed, there is not a single non-European (or for that matter "Marxist") present in his book who

*TABLE : JOHNSON'S WHO'S WHO OF THE MODERN WORLD

	White	Non-White
Religious thinkers	24	3
Artists, musicians, theatre personalities, etc.	72	1
Academicians : historians, economists, sociologists, etc.	117	5
Literary figures : novelists, poets, etc.	109	2
Scientists, mathematicians, etc	62	1
Military figures	77	28
Politics, diplomacy, statecraft	355	162
Journalists, reporters and miscellaneous writers	130	2
Bankers and financiers	34	3
People in managerial positions, Civil Service, Trade Unions, Technocrats, etc.	62	1
Legal professions	16	8
Philosophers	18	2

is as "well-founded" as Adenauer, De Gaulle, or even Hitler or Mussolini. As a Eurocentric, his views of men and moments that shape history give pride of place to Europe. The part played by the non-Europeans in some of the decisive events of this century is diminished in significance. Britain lost her empire because she lost the "will to govern".²⁴ The French rule in Algeria ended in a bloodbath because of France's failure to get rid of the "gangsters" who took over the nationalist movement;²⁵ All non-European countries were and are led by "professional politicians";²⁶ statesmen, he seems to imply, are only produced in the West.

There is an undercurrent of bitterness and resentment that the "natives" have rejected their European masters. And the greater the success of countries—e.g. India, Vietnam, Algeria, Tanzania—in distancing themselves both politically and economically from the Western bloc, the more likely that their leaders will appear in a *secondary* demonology in Johnson's universe. Neither his evident respect for truth nor his acceptance of the Popperian method of scientific proof is likely to deflect Johnson from his almost paranoid characterisation of the non-European world. It is a world populated by a lumpen mass of "natives" pathetically content with their low lot, led by "professional politicians" filled with the "higher humbug" who use the state apparatus and international organisation for self-aggrandisement, aided and abetted by the liberals "suffering from that corrosive vice of the civilised during the twentieth century..... guilt."²⁷ But the lot of the masses remains unchanged or even worsens; their deliverance lies in the uninterrupted operation of the market forces which the professional politicians in their countries would not allow.

The need for a more equitable share of the world's resources and the widening gap between the rich (mostly white) and the poor (i.e. all non-white) worlds are ignored or dismissed by Johnson as a chimera dreamt up by the "guilt-laden" academics from the West and the self-seeking, scape-goating moralising clique from the non-White world.²⁸ It is behind this screen of self-righteous complacency that Johnson takes refuge, free of any guilt or doubts.

Johnson's attitudes are perhaps best illustrated by the manner in which he discusses some specific historical events relating to particular non-European countries. We choose two illustrations—one that is elaborated in some detail across the book and the other covered in a few paragraphs. The first illustration relates to the history of India from the events leading to the departure of the British and the post-independence era under Jawaharlal Nehru. The other illustration is a briefer examination of Tanzania under Julius Nyerere's leadership. In considering both these examples, the primary focus of interest is the manner in which Johnson's ethnocentricity distorts reality.

The dismemberment of the Indian Empire, according to Johnson, began with Montagu's statement of British Government Policy on India in 1917.²⁹ The statement assured the eventual granting of self-government to the country as an integral part of the British Empire. Johnson argues that the statement undermined any possibility of a permanent British presence, leaving only the question of when self-government would be achieved. The question did not remain open for long because "excitable" (!) Indians i.e. "professional politicians" such as Gandhi, Nehru and Jinnah had begun agitating for immediate

home rule. So Johnson's conclusion is that the disintegration of British rule in India could be attributed partly to Montagu's guilt-laden need to be loved and partly to the insufficient firmness on the part of the authorities faced by agitation and misrepresentation. There is little evidence that Johnson understands the wider reasons for Montagu's statement, apart from his speculations about Montagu's personality. These included the increasing pressures applied upon the British by the Indian nationalists and politicians and the influential view, quite widespread in British political circles, that some concessions had to be made in view of the magnanimous support that India had given in terms of materials and men during the First World War. In any case, commitments to the progress of Indian self-rule by successive British rulers of India dated back to the Vice-royalty of Lord Ripon.³⁰ There was full awareness even among the most authoritarian viceroys of India of the limit to how far Britain could retain her rule in face of popular disaffection.³¹ The so-called Indian Mutiny of 1857 had confronted the British rule with the stark realities of a popular revolt.

The manner in which Johnson discusses a momentous and tragic event like the Jalianwalla Bagh Massacre exposes both the inadequacy of his thinking and the callousness of his Eurocentrism. This massacre occurred in Amritsar in 1919 when General Dyer, leading a force of 50 soldiers, opened fire on a large unarmed crowd containing women and children, firing 1,650 bullets, which inflicted 1,516 casualties (including 379 dead), continuously for ten minutes. Johnson maintains that this "episode" might have quickly been forgotten "were it not for the publicity that the British Government afforded

by setting up the Hunter Commission which then reported fully upon the events leading up to the massacre and Dyer's justification for his actions."³² The only pertinent remark that Johnson makes about the Commission's work is the point that "Hindustani abuse"³³ was hurled at Dyer when he gave his evidence to the Commission. It is not clear whether it was the solitary Indian on the Commission or some other persons who were responsible for this unforgivable act. When a public subscription of £26,000 was raised for Dyer by a right-wing newspaper, the Indians responded by raising money to buy the land on which the massacre took place and turn it into a national shrine. Johnson characterises the latter act as "turning it into a public shrine of race hatred."³⁴

The underlying theme running across Johnson's description of the event is that it would not have been a matter of great consequence if only the British government had not made such a fuss. A classic illustration of ethnocentricity at work! It is a distortion of reality, for nowhere in Johnson's account is there a discussion of the event that precipitated the crisis—the deportation of two Congress leaders (Saifuddin Khan, a Moslem and Satyapal, a Hindu) whose crime in the eyes of the Raj was that they had but been too successful in promoting Hindu-Muslim amity. There is general agreement that the presence of the two leaders at Amritsar could have cooled the situation there. Johnson's account fails to mention the fact that this massacre was the final straw that pushed Mahatma Gandhi into the independence struggle and led moderate leaders such as Motilal Nehru, the father of Jawaharlal Nehru, who was a moderate, to renounce any further coopera-

tion with the British Raj. The racial arrogance of Michael O'Dwyer, Acting Governor of Bombay, who dismissed the massacre as putting down a rebellion; of General Drake-Brockman of Delhi who remarked that "Force is the only thing that any Asiatic has any respect for".³⁵ of Dyer who imposed the infamous crawling order that all Indians who passed the spot in Amritsar, irrespective, of their method of locomotion, where a British headmistress who had been assaulted by a mob, would have to crawl on all fours; of the British public who feted Dyer on his return to his native land and raised a public subscription; and of Members of Parliament who defended Dyer's actions—all these caused a wave of resentment and humiliation across the Indian sub-continent which fundamentally altered the future Anglo-Indian relationship. The Amritsar Massacre was a watershed in British rule in India; and as Rabindranath Tagore pointed out, any association or receipt of British favours would thereafter brand any self-respecting Indian as a traitor in his own eyes and in the opinion of others.³⁶ Johnson exhibits the characteristic insensitivity of a Eurocentric in not even beginning to understand how mortally the sensibilities of a large number of Indians were wounded by the Jalianwalla Bagh Massacre.

Johnson's treatment of the whole Indian nationalist struggle is interesting. Gandhi is portrayed as a crank with an obsession with his bodily functions and a prurient attitude to sex.³⁷ By associating Gandhi at one point with Johnson's arch-villains, Lenin and Hitler, he even comes close to incorporating the Indian into his demonology.³⁸ Yet at the last minute, even Johnson realises the ludicrousness of his own logic. Instead, the Gandhi phenomenon is dismissed as humbug, and he reflects in his Eurocentric

certainty that Gandhi could only have been allowed to operate in the ultra-liberal environment provided by the British rule. A reflection that must appear bizarre to those who were on the receiving end of lathicharges and imprisonment during the Indian independence movement. In any case, Johnson dismisses Gandhi as more of a hindrance than help to the achievement of India's freedom. In this instance, as in many others, Johnson's favourite mode of argument is assertion intermingled with abuse. In his selective disclosure of facts, he makes no mention about Gandhi's mass appeal, or his campaign for improving the lot of the untouchables, or his crusade to promote religious tolerance, and his fashioning of the powerful and elevating weapon of "non-violence" in fighting injustice which has been used with some success in a number of situations subsequently. By ignoring these contributions of Gandhi and concentrating on his "oddities", Johnson intends to diminish Gandhi. He only succeeds in diminishing himself.

Nehru is another leader who comes under Johnson's blinkered gaze.³⁹ From someone whom he castigates as a work-shy, pampered and rich young man playing at independence struggle, Johnson soon transforms Nehru into an international moraliser *par excellence* who finds his apogee at the Bandung Conference in 1955. This Conference brought together about thirty independent states from Asia and Africa, almost all of whom had been under European colonial rule. To a number of Eurocentrics, this Conference was seen as an enormous conspiracy of non-whites aiming their hatred against past masters. Johnson obviously shares this sense of unease, and has therefore little to say about the objectives and the achievements of the Conference.

Instead, he resorts to character assassination, particularly of Nehru. Nehru is dismissed as an incompetent moraliser, feted by the "guilt-ridden" liberals of the West, who gets his final come-uppance from the Chinese when they invade and seize Indian territory. Apart from this type of trivialisation of Nehru's activities, Johnson has little of use to write about either his contribution to Bandung or to the nurture and welfare of his country during the dangerous decades of the Cold War. Despite all its problems, Nehru's India established an infrastructure conducive to the growth of industries, democratic institutions and education, while at the same time steering clear of the sterile superpower politics that characterises much of the post-war period. It is not surprising that Johnson pays little heed to some of these positive aspects of Nehru's rule, though he must be quite out of touch with what happens outside his little world if he is not aware of the respect and affection in which Nehru is held by the vast majority of the Indian people and many living outside India.

Johnson's mendacious attack on the African countries (insultingly referred to as Caliban's kingdoms) is contained in the chapter following his assaults on the participants of the Bandung Conference.⁴⁰ Tanzania is given special treatment. To Johnson Tanzania is the most significant example of the movement of an African state towards totalitarianism. Nyerere's principled stand on Rhodesia, which resulted at one stage in Tanzania breaking off diplomatic relationship with Britain for pusillanimity and hypocrisy in British dealings with Smith's regime, is dismissed by Johnson as a method of distracting public attention from internal problems. The Arusha Declaration of 1967, which was aimed at preventing the emergence

of an educated urban elite living on the backs of the rural peasantry, is slated by Johnson for its imagery and empty sloganeering. The Arusha Declaration also falls into Johnson's general stricture of any major social or economic experiments in the Third World: they are "higher humbug".

His picture of Tanzania as a society in which the party in power took over the control of individual lives through political indoctrination, forced villagisation and the political trials bear little resemblance to reality, as anyone who has lived there would vouch for. His dismissal of Nyerere as a "petty tyrant of black Africa"⁴¹ involved in fomenting anti-Asian racism, ignores the stand Nyerere made under threat of resignation to ensure that Asians and other minorities enjoyed the same rights and privileges as citizens as the African majority.⁴²

There is no need for a detailed defence of Tanzania's bold economic and social experiments. What is more germane here is the underlying reasons why European ethnocentricity takes the form that it does in Johnson's work. We have pointed out in considerable detail how Johnson's ethnocentricity colours his vision of the non-white world. Our examination of his book may strike some as being of inordinate length which is not justified by any intrinsic merit of the book, a point of view that we subscribe to. But his book forms part of a genre of Eurocentric history which has had a significant impact on the minds of many throughout the world. The belief that excellence, whether in the academic, artistic, literary, technological, or material fields is concentrated in the Western hemisphere is not only found among inhabitants

of that part of the world but is widespread elsewhere.⁴³ To an important extent, lying at the root of this malady is European ethnocentricity. Are there any cures for this malady?

The only antidote to ethnocentrism is multiculturalism. All ethnocentrists, whether they be Europeans, Indians or Chinese, need to rise above their narrow horizons and see the world as it is: a global village inhabited by individuals with diverse cultural traditions and religious beliefs who are anxious to retain their different ways of life which in any case have to contend against the combined effect of two powerful pressures—modernism and technology. We have, in this article, put great emphasis on European ethnocentricity because we believe that at this stage in the world's history, it poses an insidious and a more dangerous challenge than any other form of ethnocentricity. This is particularly so because the education curriculum in Western societies generally fails to reflect the presence and contributions of non-whites generally, and thereby are responsible to some extent in perpetuating damaging prejudices. Until the schools and colleges in the white world can devise a curriculum which provides true knowledge, helps to impart a sense of respect for cultural differences, and assists in the training of the difficult skill of empathy, the implicit assumption will continue to be made that progress and civilisation remain a white monopoly. Eurocentricity will continue to flourish in this atmosphere.

REFERENCE

4. Pierre Gourou, a Geographer, has argued in his book, *The Tropical World* (Longman, 1970) that beyond a certain

level of technology, the unhealthiness of tropical life and the peculiarities of the tropical soils have to a considerable extent determined the low levels of living standards and cultural stagnation that are characteristic of the tropical world. This type of geographical determinism tends to both subsume the great variety of climates, human and natural resources and health hazards encompassed in a broad description as the "Tropical World" and ignore the existence of great civilisations in the continents of America, Asia and Africa. Undoubtedly, all countries in the tropical world have one thing in common, they are all "under-developed". Is it not possible to argue that an important reason for their underdevelopment is the nature of their historical relationship with the "temperate" world, characterised by unequal exchange in trade and inequalities in the distribution of global resources and remuneration? It is the failure of many Eurocentrics even to countenance such an argument that is at the root of their perceptions of the non-white world.

15. "Indian achievements in mathematics, astronomy and medicine are unacknowledged; the tremendous role the Muslim Scientists played as transmitters of knowledge is never mentioned; Egyptian accomplishments in science have been ignored; a whole array of brilliant inventions of the Chinese is fleetingly passed over; the achievements of the Maya people are never considered worthy of mention....." Quoted from *Education for a Multicultural Society*, a document produced by a working party set up by the Manchester Education Committee.

16. Trevor Roper felt incensed by Toynbee's vision of world history in which the European civilisation did not occupy the central perimeter.
17. Fisher's *History of Europe*, published in 1935 in 2 volumes, is a classic study of history conceived in Eurocentric terms, with ample references to the non-whites in a pejorative manner.
18. Thus, the first investigators of the ruins of Zimbabwe were convinced that no black people could ever have built such a civilisation- "For black peoples, they said, had no history of their own, and had never created any civilisation of their own", as Basil Davidson remarked in his *Discovering Africa's Past* (Longman, 1978), p. 3.
19. *A Study of History : An Illustrated One Volume Edition* (Oxford, 1972).
20. *The African Past* (Longman, 1964); *Africa in History : Themes & Outlines* (Paladin, 1974); *Discovering Africa's Past* (Longman, 1978)
21. *Science and Civilisation in China*, Six Volumes (Cambridge, 1950s and 1960s).
22. Toynbee, of course, was virulently attacked by Trevor Roper and Peter Greyl.
23. While a host of lesser Western luminaries make a fleeting appearance in the book, as if to give the impression of an encyclopaedic range of knowledge of the modern world, there is no mention of the following non-whites, among many others, whose achievements have been no less significant :
 - (a) Rabindernath Tagore, Indian poet and a Nobel Laureate.
 - (b) Amilcar Cabral, a revolutionary thinker from Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde.
 - (c) Dr. Annie Jaggé, Ghanaian educationist and a Vice-President of the World Council of Churches.
 - (d) Sir C. V. Raman, Indian scientist and Nobel prize winner.
 - (e) Herbert Macaulay, "father" of Nigerian nationalism.
 - (f) Dr. Lambo, Nigerian psychiatrist of world-wide repute, and a Deputy Director General of the World Health Organisation.
 - (g) Chief Albert Luthuli, the South African Nobel Prize Winner for Peace.
 - (h) Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Indian Philosopher and Statesman.
24. Johnson, P. 44
25. Johnson, PP. 497-498.
26. Johnson, P. 470.
27. Johnson, P. 41.
28. Johnson's examination of the North-South relationship (PP. 691-694) contain all the main ingredients of an ethnocentric view of the universe. They are :
 - (a) "blame the victim" (i.e. the South);
 - (b) overstate the benevolence of the giver ;
 - (c) ignore the past (i.e. colonialism) when it contains unpleasant truths ;
 - (d) castigate the "guilt-ridden" sections of the North for manufacturing non-existent grievances ;
 - (e) point out the unsuitability or irrelevance of the North-South categorisation.

The failure in Johnson's discussion is the neglect of issues such as the unequal exchange in trade between the developed and the developing countries, which involves massive transfers of resources from the latter to the former; the political economy of the creation and maintenance of dependence; and the nature and mechanism of the profitable alliances between the small ruling elite and the Western capitalist interests, both of which together exploit the rural poor in many developing countries.

29. For Johnson's discussion on the episodes leading to India's independence, see PP. 41-47.
30. See S.Gopal, *The Vice-royalty of Lord Ripon* (Oxford, 1953).
31. Mark Bruce-Jones, *The Viceroy of India* (London, 1982), provides interesting insights about how the viceroys perceived the limitations of their power in India.
32. Johnson, pp. 46-47.
33. The term is symptomatic of Johnson's awareness: would he ever write about "English abuse", "Danish abuse" or "Portuguese abuse",
34. Johnson, p. 46.
35. Quoted in Louis Fischer, *The Life of Mahatma Gandhi* (Granada, 1982), p. 233.
36. In a letter to the viceroy, Tagore wrote: "The time has come when badgas of honour make our shame glaring in the incongruous context of humiliation, and I for my part wish to stand shorn of all special distinctions by the side of those

of my countrymen who, for their so called insignificance, are liable to suffer degradation not fit for human beings. And these are the reasons which have painfully compelled me to ask your Excellency, with due deference and regret, to relieve me of my title of knighthood..." (quoted from B. K. Ahluwalia and S. Ahluwalia, *Tagore and Gandhi* (Pankaj Publications, 1981), p. 47.

37. Perhaps the most banal remarks on Gandhi by Johnson may be read on p. 471 of his book.
38. Johnson, p. 470.
39. For Johnson's strictures on Nehru, see pp. 472-476 of his book.
40. Johnson, Ch. 15.
41. Johnson, p. 530.
42. In a policy-circular issued to all Ministries and public bodies on 7th January 1964, Nyerere announced that his government's two-year policy of Africanisation was being ended. Thereafter, he said, Tanganyika citizens of all races would be equally eligible for public employment. "It would be quite wrong for us to discriminate between Tanganyika citizens on any grounds than those of character and ability to do specific tasks. We cannot allow the growth of first and second class citizenship." (Quoted from Julius K. Nyerere, *Uhuru na Umoja* (Freedom and Unity), Oxford University Press, 1970, p. 259.)
43. In a future paper, the present authors intend to examine the far-reaching effects of Eurocentrism on the attitudes and behaviour of the non-whites.

GROWTH STRATEGY FOR INDIAN CEMENT INDUSTRY

Dr. P. S. SAXENA,

While the portland Cement in its fundamental aspects of composition and manufacture, is already more than 140 years old, the first production of this commodity in India dates back to 1904, although it was not until 1914 that the foundation of a stable Indian Cement Industry were really laid. In October 1914, the first bag of industrially produced cement was packed at Porbandar by the then India Cement Co. Ltd.

During the past seventy years of its existence, despite periodical socio-economic and political vicissitudes, the Indian Cement Industry has made great strides. With the conception of Associated Cement Companies in 1936 and the emergence of Jain-Dalmia group in 1938, the total capacity of cement industry rose to 2.5 million tonnes. Production and capacity increased phenomenally in the subsequent period and in 1950-51 the capacity stood at 3.28 million tonnes while production amounted to 2.95 million tonnes. Cement production maintained its uptrend during the fifties and the sixties. The performance in the seventies was characterised by fluctuating capacity; utilisation production increased from 14.35 million tonnes in 1970-71 to 18.56 million tonnes in 1980-81 and further to 23 million tonnes in 1982-83. Installed capacity during this period increased from 17.59 million tonnes to 34 million tonnes.

The installed capacity which today stands at about 36 million tonnes, will positively touch 43 million tonnes by March, 1985, the end of the current plan period. By the end of 1983-84, the cement production is expected to reach 25 million tonnes. However, the Industry Ministry is over-optimistic about it and expects a production of 28 million tonnes. Still India will continue to import cement to meet the domestic demand and it is learnt that all imports will be canalised through State Trading Corporation. Total demand in 1983-84 is projected at 35.25 million tonnes.

The pragmatic policy of partial decontrol announced by the Government in February, 1982, has given the desired results and the dream of cement being available, as and when required, to everybody for his full requirement, has come true. The free sale cement prices are getting stabilised at reasonable levels. Marketing planning strategies are gradually acquiring a pre-dominant role in the corporate management. Customers have, after a long time, become choosy and demanding. Producers have, perforce, now adequate emphasis on quality than before. Simultaneously they have to ensure correct weight in the bags, proper packing and prompt and efficient customer service. Sellers market has given way, at last to buyer's market. Consumer's interest have, therefore,

become supreme and producers must have a long term perspective of Industry's trends, initiate and evolve sound and aggressive marketing strategies and also adopt technological innovations to achieve cost reduction to stay in business.

Technologically also the industry has kept pace with the latest developments. The adoption of newer technologies, relative improvement in plant performance and production of several types of special purpose cements in the country, has been possible to a great extent through an R&D attitude of the industry and by concrete development work in many instances. Prior to mid-sixties when the R&D base of the India cement industry got organised, the technological upliftment was essentially dependent on technology import. Today almost every cement manufacturing unit has a well equipped laboratory. Some of the manufacturers like ACC, Orissa Cement Ltd. etc. have separate R&D units of their own. The Research station of ACC, located at Thane, is almost two decades old and is the biggest and one of the most up-to-date in the country. Substantial R&D support to the industry is offered by the relevant CSIR laboratories and the Cement Research Institute of India which is also conceived as a national R&D Centre based on cooperative principles. The development of Cement manufacturing machinery indigenously is another field in which the industry has fruitfully contributed in its overall scientific and technological venture.

Investment in cement industry which till a few years back, was considered as a wasteful and uneconomic expenditure, is today attracting attention of all sectors. There is a spurt in the investment proposals and applications for letters of Intent for setting up cement plant. The raw material deposits,

even in the remote areas, are being considered for exploitation.

Where do we stand in respect of per capita consumption of cement, as compared to the developed countries and developing nations of the World? Even with the production of 36 million tonnes anticipated in March 1985 the per capita consumption of cement will hardly be 48 Kgs. India is no longer a developing country. It can almost be considered as having developed in the industrial field. The per capita consumption of some of the countries like Belgium, Japan etc. is in the range of 600 to 700 Kgs. These figures indicate the tremendous growth potential for cement industry in the country and there is no reason why we should feel shy by planning atleast 100 million tonnes of installed capacity by the turn of the century. The cement industry in India is conscious of the technological improvements taking place abroad and is versatile in adopting the same in the shortest possible time.

The industry has been facing problems over the past decade. The ever increasing cost of inputs and poor availability of power and coal are at the root of industry's inability to secure a fair return on the capital employed. The Government resorted to partial decontrol policy in February 1982 and it was necessary for the producer to part with a production equivalent to 66.7 per cent of the installed capacity. With the new pricing policy, it is reported, cement manufacturing units have improved their cash flow position by about Rs.400 crores. The levy price has been periodically revised upward in keeping with the rising costs of inputs and freight rates. The industry has again pleaded with the Industry Ministry to increase the share of non-levy

cement but the response of the Ministry to the proposal was negative. Even in regard to the industry's demand for an increase in price on levy cement, the Government is not convinced about its case. The industry has asked for a rise in price of levy cement by Rs. 65 per tonne. The increase, it is reported is necessitated due to a hike in power tariff, Rs. 24, in price of coal, Rs. 7 freight on coal, Rs. 15 effect of implementing the recent wage accord with workers, Rs. 15 and the incidence due to variable dearness allowance to workers, Rs. 4. The demand of the industry, if conceded by Government will meet the gap between costs and sales realisation from the levy cement.

Cement manufacturer can sell production equivalent of 33.3 per cent of the installed capacity in the open market which fetches a higher price. But owing to subdued demand during the recent monsoon period and the regular imports, the availability of cement in the open market has been quite comfortable and the open market price has stabilised. When the industry is undertaking modernisation and expansion programmes, the low open market price can prove to be a hurdle. If sales realisation from the levy component meets the production costs fully, the non-levy quota can be used to finance upgradation and modernization.

The plants which are very old and of uneconomic sizes will have to be discarded, converted from wet to dry process. Modernization of the existing equipment, expansion of existing small units to make them economically viable, installation of pollution control equipment, introduction of latest instrumentation and automatic controls even in the existing plants, training of personnel for future requirements, in house research

and development facilities, bulk loading of cement, maximum utilisation of waste heat from the kiln, system development for using poor quality of coal, improved packing material, improved pro-blending and prehomogenising system, scientific maintenance system, inventory control etc. etc. have become sine-que-non for the healthy growth of industry.

The Union Industry Ministry has informed that the cement industry is to be modernised with a total investment of Rs. 2100 crores. The programme includes rehabilitation of sick units; conversion of wet process Kilns to dry process Kilns, introduction of pre-heater and pre-calculator and installation of electrostatic precipitators. Several cement units have already announced their modernization plans. This would involve considerable capital expenditure. A major task that the industry is embarking upon is the installation of captive power generation sets. Since power poses a major handicap to the entire economy and especially to the industrial sector increasing recourse to captive power is inevitable. The cement industry is poised for increasing its captive power generation capacity from the present 150 MW to 275 MW. Before the partial decontrol policy the capacity was only 75 MW. It should be remembered that the power generated by captive power plants is far costlier than thermal or hydel power and the industry will require a substantial financial support for the purpose. Public financial institutions are required to speed up disbursements under their soft loan schemes. It is seen that against the incremental loan sanctioned by these institutions Rs. 58 crores in 1982, actual disbursements was only Rs. 10.40 crores.

There is no denying the fact that the system of partial decontrol has brought some

relief to the consumer but that does not mean an end of the consumer woes. The cement industry is suffering from some inherent snags and unless these are tackled no distribution system can prove successful.

What ails Indian cement industry is well known. According to Mr. N.A. Palkhivala, Chairman of Associated Cement Companies Ltd. (ACC) "Technological obsolescence is the bane of cement industry."

Of the 152 kilns in 64 cement plants, operated by 36 companies, 96 are based on the wet process and 56 on the dry/semi-dry process. Of the total annual installed capacity of 29.50 million tonnes, the wet process constitutes about 14.0 million tonnes. Frequency distribution of the kilns, according to capacity tonnes per day and age is given in Table-A.

It has been observed that 71 out of 96 wet process kilns are more than 20 years old. Most of these units require far more (40-50 per cent) energy and maintenance attention than the modern dry process plants. Precious little has been done all these years. Firstly, due to long era of price and distribution control and secondly due to absence of any perspective plan for modernisation.

Way back in October 1981, CMA submitted to the Government the proposal for modernisation and expansion of the cement industry with a likely investment of Rs.562 crores. Brief details of modernisation scheme are given in Table B.

Barring few instances of conversion from the wet to the dry process and replacement of wet kilns by a bigger capacity dry process units in the southern parts of the country, schemes for modernisation and energy savings have only been discussed at various

forums. Some units have achieved marginal productivity enhancement and reduced energy consumption by improvement made in the heat exchange system and reduction of moisture in kiln feed in wet process kilns. In some cases electrostatic precipitators have been installed to contain pollution and reduce material and cement losses through chimneys.

These schemes have not made any discernable effect on the overall availability of cement and reduced requirement of energy (which is in short supply). The high energy requirement and low productivity wet process units together with the obsolescence of process and equipment have not only strained the transport infrastructure but have also resulted in low capacity utilisation in the cement industry as can be seen from Table C.

In spite of considerable improvements that have taken place in the coal and railway sectors, the capacity utilisation of the cement industry has been far from satisfactory. One of the major factors contributing to this has been the acute power shortage all over the country and particularly in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Tamil Nadu where at times a 100 per cent power cut has been imposed.

Apart from the obsolete process equipment and power shortage, the other major constraint in the growth of the cement industry is the economy of scale. As can be seen from Table 1, 148 kilns out of a total of 152 kilns are below capacity of 1200 T.P.D., which was considered viable in late 1960's and early 1970's. The present thrust is on higher capacity units. The efficiency of two units of 3000 T.P.D. which have been recently commissioned remains to be seen

vis-a-vis modern cement plants in Europe and Japan.

The outstanding achievement of the Japanese cement industry since World War II and the energy crisis of 1973, shows the direction which could perhaps be emulated by Indian cement industry. The Japanese have made commendable strides in the development of new technologies and modernisation. The production by the dry process has been continuously increasing from 82 per cent in 1973 to almost 100 per cent at present. Wet process kilns have stopped functioning except for manufacturing special cements. The gradual increase in the proportion of production by the dry process is given in Table D.

Apart from modernisation by time bound conversions from the wet to the dry process, the Japanese cement industry has made extensive research and developmental efforts during the past decade towards saving energy. These have culminated in a number of successful technological developments, such as :

Development of energy—efficient precalcinator systems, including 5-stage preheaters with low pressure cyclones, resulting in lower fuel and power consumption.

Use of coal shales, having calorific value of 500-1000 kcal/kg fuel and other waste materials such as wood/bark chips have been successfully used as part of fuel.

Developments relating to effective utilisation of waste heat generated in cement plants.

Long distance transport of limestone by belt conveyors.

Extensive use of vertical roller mills for raw material and coal grinding.

Various lessons that the Indian cement industry can draw from Japan, are in respect of economy of scale, use of energy efficient equipment and co-generation of power from low temperature kiln gases and cooler exit air.

Thus from the above survey one may shortlist the following technological constraints for the Indian Cement Industry:

1. Sudden increase in unit plant size with more vigorous instrumentation and process control but with inadequate backup experience.
2. Simultaneous introduction of many new technologies in new plants; viz. precalcination system, roller mills, bed blending, process control but with macro-processors, etc.
3. Multiple sources of availability of newer technologies like precalcination, roller milling, etc.
4. Delayed absorption of proven foreign technologies,
5. Poor packaging of cement.
6. Inadequate pollution control facilities.
7. Necessity of having to run a large number of old and inefficient wet plants.
8. Poor operational efficiency of even the newer dry process plants as reflected in their energy consumption patterns.
9. Lack of quality improvement trends.

The last two constraints are essentially due to the following three factors:

Deteriorating quality of coal with high ash content.

Unsteady and marginal quality of raw materials.

Operation of inefficient plants with inadequate controls.

The above constraints obviously call for short-term research of high priority to evolve measures to overcome them. The research in a broad sense, may involve indigenous development of absorption of foreign technology, if the latter is more economical and time saving.

In the 140 year old history of cement the breakthrough in process technology has been few and far between. But the processes have come only through sustained long-range 'first-to-develop' research strategy of a few firms of international repute. Fuel economy and operational advantages have been the dominant note or the driving force in bringing in such technological changes in the manufacture of cement.

But today the manufacturing technology has reached a stage where the heat consumption has come down to a level of 700 K-Cal/Kg clinker and unit kiln size has gone upto 10000 TPD. Therefore, what remains to be achieved is reduction in capital cost of plant and further operational steadiness. Towards this, the extension of fluidised bed technology for clinkerisation is an object of long-range R&D.

In cement manufacture still the most ene-

rgy-inefficient unit operation is grinding. Therefore, the search for new size reduction systems continues to be an objective of long-range R&D.

Portland cement has continued to be a non-replaceable general purpose binder since its invention. Search for its true alternative has not yielded any result so far, but the search for a viable alternative still continues. In fact the scientist dream is an alternative to Portland cement with improved properties such as higher compressive and tensile strengths and better resistance to aggressive environment.

Finally, as in any other industry, the use of alternate sources of energy for cement manufacture continues to be an R&D objective.

For years the Indian cement industry was hard hit with rigorous price control, heavy inflation rocketed costs and eroded profits. This economic and financial background of the industry affected the growth of R&D in a serious manner. With the new policy announced in 1982 involving partial decontrol and an increased retention price, the economic climate for the industry has become somewhat favourable for sustained R&D. Further, a well-organised properly equipped and staffed R&D base is now available to the industry. With situations changing for the better, it is hoped that the challenge for technology change with time can be and will be met by research and development efforts.

GROWTH STRATEGY FOR INDIAN CEMENT INDUSTRY

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Table—A
Units capacity Tonnes per Day (T.P.D.)

Age of kiln	61-300	301-600	601-1200	1201-3000	Total
A. Wet Process					
1. Upto 10 years	1	2	—	—	2
2. 11-20 years	3	18	1	—	22
3. 21-30 years	11	18	8	—	37
4. 31-40 years	8	5	1	—	14
5. Above 40 years	16	4	—	—	20
Sub Total of 'A'	39	47	10	—	96
B. Dry/Semi-dry process					
1. Upto 10 years	5	4	15	4(a)	28
2. 11-20 years	1	12	7	—	20
3. 21-30 years	1(b)	3(b)	1	—	5
4. 31-40 years	—	—	—	—	—
5. Above 40 years	2(b)	1(b)	—	—	3
Sub total of 'B'	9(c)	20(c)	23(c)	4	56
Total of A&B	48	67	33	4	152

(a) Includes two 3000 T.P.D. kilns under commissioning.

(b) Includes one conversion from wet to dry process.

(c) Includes 1,5 and 3 units of semi-dry process in the respective capacity range.

Table—B

Proposal for modernisation	Number of kilns	Installed capacity million tonnes per annum	Estimated capital outlay (crores)
A. Conversions of wet to dry process and new dry process			
1. Kilns which can be converted from wet to dry process at existing capacity	21	6.95	255
2. Kilns which can be converted with substantial expansion of capacity.	7(a)	3.74	
3. Installation of new dry process kilns	5	3.58	307
Sub total 'A'	33	14.27	562
B. Operation as Wet Process/ shutdown			
1. Kilns which will continue to operate as wet process	34	3.75	—
2. Kilns which will be shut down	34	(not considered for operation)	
Sub total 'B'	34	3.75	3.75
C. Summary of Scheme	63	18.02	562
Present wet kilns	96	14.44	

(a) One conversion has already been taken in hand.

Table—C

(million tonnes per annum)

Year	Production	Installed capacity	% utilisation
1975-76	17.29	21.16	82
1976-77	18.85	21.46	88
1977-78	19.38	21.91	88
1978-79	19.41	22.53	86
1979-80	17.68	24.28	73
1980-81	18.65	27.92	77
1981-82	21.00	29.25	72
1982-83	23.00 (a)	36.00(b)	71(a)

(a) Estimated

(b) Utilisation of 6-7 additional million tonne capacity during the year will be about 50 per cent during commissional trial runs.

Table—D

Year	Wet process		Dry process	
	No. of kilns	% production capacity	No. of kilns	% production capacity
1973	64	18.0	176	82.0
1974	61	9.8	183	90.2
1975	61	5.0	185	95.0
1976	57	2.9	184	97.1
1977	51	2.0	178	98.0
1978	49	1.6	178	98.4
1979	43	1.4	159	98.6
1980	40	0.3	154	99.7

ENERGY AND ITS SOURCE :

Dr. B. R. S. GUPTA

Needless to add, India launched a concerted effort for conserving energy as far back as the early 1950's, primarily for ecological reasons. This campaign has now been supplemented with a social forestry programme to augment fuel wood supplies in the rural and semi-urban areas. The afforestation and social forestry plans cover planting of fast-growing trees, developing of new species through the techniques of tissue culture, nutrient inputs, genetic engineering and nitrogen fixation. A number of tree species, shrubs and other plants, suitable for energy plantation under Indian climatic conditions, have been identified and are now being multiplied in various nurseries and R and D centres. The alternative energy resources on which R and D efforts have been stepped up markedly include nuclear and renewable sources. Nuclear power may fill the gap in a couple of decades, reducing dependence on coal which is gaining renewed importance currently. But the ultimate hope for the future indisputably lies in faster development of the replenishable sources BIOMASS.

Nuclear scientists are proud of their achievement at Kalpakkam which went on stream this year-ten years behind schedule. Scientists seem to be pushing for the advancement of the nuclear programme. INDIA has set itself a target of 10,000 MW of nuclear power capacity by 2,000 A.D. The

target was set to keep open the nuclear option in power development. It was not strictly part of a power development programme that is, not in terms of economics. In itself, the achievement of the target, is not therefore, important. India must proceed cautiously with an expensive nuclear power development programme rendered prohibitive by cost overruns including the cost of delay. The adverse cost factor will continue, based as the nuclear power programme is on a uranium heavy water fuel strategy which India is pursuing doggedly. True, the Indian effort though costly, frees it significantly from the dominance of the nuclear club. But is the effort worthwhile in terms of the power programme per se? We do not seem to be clear about the options in economic terms. If India made nuclear power stations are considered worthwhile on political considerations, this should be clearly recognised and publicly stated. The nuclear power programme should not then be confined with a genuine economic power programme.

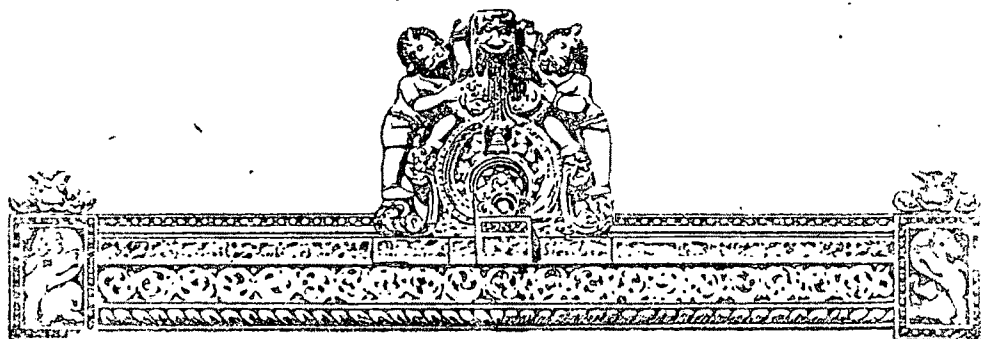
Substantial headway has already been made in the utilisation of biogas generated primarily from cattle dung and city sewerage. Though biogas technology had been known in India for over four decades, the construction of individual family biogas plants was

taken up in right earnest during the mid-seventies.

Needless to add, the escalating energy costs in the recent past though caused partially by the global inflationary tendencies, have genesis primarily in the growing concern over the rapid depletion of the global fossil fuel resources. The consumption of fossil-fuels during the last 100 years is estimated to have been much more than during the 2,000 years earlier. It is reckoned that even if their use is rationalised a great deal through energy conservation measures, these resources may be exhausted in a couple of centuries. The hydrocarbon resources may run out even earlier. This prospect has spurred research and development endeavours not only for more efficient use of energy but also in alternative sources so that energy shortages can be obviated in the none-too-distant future. The economic aspirations of the developing nations, which today constitutes 70% of

mankind, obviously can not be suppressed for long. They will increase pressure on the energy sources.

Increased attention is being bestowed also on community type biogas plants. Under a demonstration-cum-experimental programme, 20 CTBP's have been constructed or are nearing completion—fixed as floating. Some types are in the selected districts of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamilnadu, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Haryana, Punjab and Delhi. Their performance is being evaluated. Fourteen of these are large-sized with capacities ranging from 30 to 100 families. At most of such plant sites, community toilets have been provided and the night soil from there is directly led into the digester, thus providing sanitation and some increases in gas production. Some of these CTBP's have provision for the utilisation of agricultural wastes.



POMPEII, THE LAND OF RUINS

Dr. GOUR MOHAN DAS DE

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Pompeii was an ancient city on the south western coast of Italy, in Campania, at the south east foot of Mt. Vesuvius on the Bay of Naples. Mt. Vesuvius was very near to Pompeii. It was only five miles away from the city. In the 7th century B.C. the earliest inhabitants were the Oscans, then came another tribe called Tyrrhenians and then they were supplanted by the Palasgians. In about 400 B.C. that tribe was replaced by another called Samnites who had come from central Italy speaking the Oscan language. They settled there for a long time, and after that arrived the Greeks who built the Temples of the gods and the goddesses of Greek mythology.

In the first century B.C. Pompeii was taken over by force by the Roman soldiers who thought it a health resort and very suitable for their stay permanently. Then they built a planned city with broad roads with beautiful buildings and many temples. Gradually it became a popular health resort by the side of the Bay of Naples. The rich people came there in numbers from Rome with their slaves. In Naples they built their port. They also made it a trading centre there. Some people thought that Pompeii had been named after the name of the great General Pompeii

of the Roman army. The inhabitants of Pompeii became very happy there. They must have had their council who ruled that place. They changed its environment. They built different types of buildings, public baths supplied with cold and hot water in several places, the house of the great fountain, amphitheatres, music and dancing halls and market places. They used to worship gods and goddesses of the Greek mythology so they built various temples to gods and goddesses in the vast area of the region VII. They were much influenced by the Greeks who had come before them and from whom the Romans had taken their culture. Most major works of painting derive from Greek originals, They are called Greco—Roman painting.

On a certain day in a certain month of 63 A.D. a violent earthquake took place and caused extensive damage to that city. Most of the first floors of wealthy persons houses where their slaves used to live; and the Venus Pompeiana, the temple of Venus during its early construction, had been broken to pieces. It might have been the largest of all the temples in the city of Pompeii if it was built properly and not destroyed by the earthquake. The inhabitants were shocked. After that destruction they star-

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ted their construction very slowly. When the construction of that city was being carried on, suddenly on 24th august 79 A.D. the long dormant Mt. Vesuvius came alive. Dark clouds, hot cinders and ask and poisonous gases poured from its cone. The terrifying volcanic eruption buried the city of Pompeii, as well as other cities of Herculaneus, Stabiac and also a few nearby villages beneath ten to twenty feet of cinders, volcanic ash, and a fine hail of stones. An estimated one tenth of the population was killed. It sealed up the furniture and other belongings inside. In a matter of a couple of days the once flourishing sea side health resort where the rich Romans had their country homes, disappeared. Many citizens who fled away during the time of eruption returned after a few days to dig the ruins for valuables but subsequent lesser eruptions had covered the digging sites again and in time its identity was totally forgotten. It lay burried for nearly 2000 years.

During the construction of an underground aquaduct between 1594—1600 A.D. some parts of Pompeii were accidentally discovered but nobody was interested in the walls. And the exavation was dropped and the event totally forgotten. But in 1748 A.D. Charles III, the King of Naples and Sicily hoped that by excavations some treasures might be uncovered to enrich his archeological collection. The excavations by the order of the Neopolitan Government at that side began immediately. Since then almost all the city had come to light but it was not fully carried out until 1861 when the work of the excvations was done with great care by the Italian Government. Many

ancient countries might have died of old age or been destroyed by their enemies but Pompeii was destroyed in one swift blow by a natural calamity.

Mr.G. Fiovelli took great care to excavate the mounds of Pompeii by the order of the Italian Government. After excavating most of the places he divided them into nine regions and each of these regions was again subdivided and brought its environments to the public. But though the work of excavation was well done some places were still under the earth. Some parts of region I and greater parts of regions III, IV, V and IX were not yet excavated. One day when it is excavated fully more valuable treasures might come out to enrich the archeological collection of the museums.

The wealthy and educated persons used to live in the first and second regions. The third, fourth, and the ninth regions were inhabited by middle class people, the seventh region housed all the famous temples, municipality, High court, council house and supermarkets; in other regions lived the labourers. In every region there were shops in front of some of the houses. At night the shops were kept closed with wooden doors. There were different kinds of shops selling all kinds of things. The jewelary shops were also there and had iron doors. There were also doctors' clinics from where surgical instrments were found and recoverd after excavation. New discoveries could yet overturn current interpretations of what has proved to be the most enigmatic of civilizations.

Some three thousand bodies have been

found in the course of excavations while furniture and personal belongings were also found well preserved because of its entombment in volcanic ash. The bodies and many other things were not burnt however. They were found as they were before. The casts of dogs in chains, an old man in a squatting position, a woman in a sleeping position, two dogs in an embracing position were also found.

The tourists with their guide took a different path and we proceeded forward according to the direction of the map given by our taxi driver. We were very tired and moreover very thirsty. We had not found coffee shops, restaurants or any pipe water facility in the surrounding areas. We were in a fix. We knew that time and tide waits for no man. We did not stop anywhere. We walked and walked putting chewing gum in our mouth. The time was nearly 2 P.M. The burning sun was scorching us mercilessly. There were no clouds in the sky. Still we were proceeding forward as if we were traversing on a desolate tract of a desert. We were both thinking at that time that we should have brought a water bottle which we never carried in our other tours. The path was broad, not straight but far better than the previous one. Its breadth was 12 to 14 feet. It was in the south east corner of the city proper. After a few minutes of walking we found house number five. We at once entered the house and took rest. We soon saw an English speaking guide engaged by the Italian Government. He showed us all the rooms of the house one by one. That house was not a dwelling place. It was one of the public houses. There were many bath houses scattered throughout the city. The guide could

speak well in English. We first entered the hall where a cast of a man was kept in a glass case. The guide informed us that during the time of excavation several casts of human beings and animals were found. He told us an interesting episode of an animal cast. At that time the wealthy men used to keep their ferocious dogs in chains in front of the gateways to guard their rich country homes and their gardens of cherries, lemons, strawberries and different types of roses with ornamental pools. During the time of volcanic eruption one of those unfortunate dogs being chained was left. His master totally forgetting that dog ran away from there to save his own life. After excavation the cast of that chained dog was found. In another house probably the guests and hosts who were having their dinner at that time fled away from there quickly as an unfinished meal of eggs and fish was left on a table. It was found after excavation. The inhabitants could not get any time to take with them their valuables, one of them carrying a bag of gold coins, many inhabitants could not escape through the city gates as they were probably choked to death by poisonous gases and crushed by tumbling columns. Their bodies were found near the gates in the hardened volcanic ash after excavation. They were all kept in the museums of Pompeii and Naples.

Next he took us inside. There were two rooms on each side separated by a large wooden door. One side was for menfolk and the other for women folk. Among the two rooms one was for massaging and dressing and the other for taking bath. Each bath was provided with a large reservoir fixed with cold and hot water lead pipes. The cold water was generally brought from the nearby spring and the hot water from nearby hot spring through separate pipes

and spigots. He showed us two holes by the side of each reservoir but there were no lead pipes and spigots, as those pipes and spigots were kept in museums. The bathers used to come there from different parts of the city and they being fully naked used to take their bath in those reservoirs. Most probably they were from the well-to-do families. The bathers would have to pay a reasonable charge for the maintenance of the bath houses. He told us again each reservoir had a waste pipe connected with curved conduits which ran the length of every street and alley. I wanted to pay him something but he refused with thanks. I asked him where we could get some plain water or any kind of soft drink on payment. He came out with us and showed us the place for drinking water. We saw to our amazement that those tourists we had met on our way now stood in a queue there to drink. We thanked the guide and went to that place and stood behind the other tourists in the queue. We were surprised to see them drinking to water as in our tour's we were prohibited to drink tap water. That day we quenched our thirst by drinking plenty of tap water.

After drinking we took rest for sometime under the shade of a house. Next we entered house number twelve, the house of Fauno a wealthy Roman of that time. It was situated at the junction of two main roads, Della Fortuna and Vicola de Fauno, and several roads encircled that house. In front it had two rooms which had mosaic floors and the walls were decorated with beautiful frescos of coloured pictures. There was a large courtyard behind those rooms where two household gods made of bronze and white marble stone stood respectively in each corner. The real glory of the city of Pompeii is its

art where plenty of money was spent not only on bronze but also in marble sculpture. A statue (1.50 meter) of Apollo was excavated in the house of Julius Polybius, an exslave and politician. It seemed to me that those idols must have been belonged to some chalcolithic culture. Initially they called to the mind the ancient world of Hellenic culture of Greece.

After crossing that courtyard we entered the other parts of the building which consisted of three rooms, whose inside walls had been also decorated with frescos of different types of beautiful coloured pictures. They also had mosaic floors but no doors and windows. About this time the American tourists arrived there with their guide. The guide told them that all the buildings of that place belonged to wealthy people. That building also had a first floor where their slaves used to live. Due to the earthquake in 63 A.D. the first floors of all the buildings were destroyed. The owners repaired their ground floors only and not their first floors. Most of the houses had no doors at that time which were only covered with thick curtains. We left that house to visit some other adjacent houses, Maison Des Vetti (House of Vetti) was one of the houses worth visiting. The guide had informed us that millions of cubes of white and coloured glass and white marble were imported from Egypt to decorate the houses of rich Pompeians.

Though we had quenched our thirst we were very hungry. We were proceeding forward according to our map on a broad road of 30 to 32 feet. Here also we found on either side of the road houses and temples without doors, windows and roofs. Though the English speaking guide of room number five informed us about a small canteen somewhere near the temple site it was very difficult to

locate, as no body could understand our language though a couple of labourers when asked left us nodding their heads. The sun had retained its sovereignty without a piece of clouds over the sky. Suddenly we noticed a few Americans tourists going towards an ancient house with their guide and we followed them. Soon we saw to our amazement there was a small canteen where all the American tourists were standing and taking their food. The shopkeepers were selling only doughnuts biscuits, coffee, soft drinks and cigarettes. we took our stand behind the other tourists in queue. When our turn came we bought a few doughnuts into cup of coke for me and a cup of coffee for my wife. They were very costly though we thanked Almighty God for that. We left that place and found nearby a suitable shady raised pavement of an ancient house. Immediately we took our seats there and started taking our food. On that day how happily we relished our simple lunch. We took a rest there for sometime and began to watch the pathetic scenes of the ruins surroundings us. Any direction we turned our face was a vast areas of ruins. We felt for the victims and prayed to God for their salvation, We both felt the joy and sorrow of living very deeply on that day sitting together over the ruins. On that very place where we sat a happy family might have been living once and enjoying themselves. They had not dreamed that within a short time they would disappear completely from the face of the earth. They were no more there as death had taken them all mercilessly. Men come and go. Only a memory stays. One day it is certain that one of us will leave this world before the other. The one who stays will surely feel deeply at heart remembering this moment where we had once enjoyed our simple

lunch, sitting together in the midst of the ruins of Pompeii. It was impossible for us to forget Pompeii.

We walked towards the direction of the temple side of region VII when we met the tourists and their guide again. At that time they were looking at Mt. Vesuvius (3891 feet). We also saw it from there. My wife was adjusting her binoculars to see the top of the mountain. It seemed to me that the dormant Mt. Vesuvius was just like a sweet little innocent baby quietly having a sound sleep in its mother's lap. It was just like Mt. Fuji which I flew over on my journey to Osaka in the month of August, 1963. I still could not believe that that sweet and quiet baby who once awakened from its deep slumber, had caused so much destruction of so many cities with their inhabitants within a couple of days.

The famous writer Pliny with his uncle had arrived there at that time in a small boat to have a look at the pathetic devastation of Pompeii. He wrote in his book after seeing the scenes of eruptions, 'small clouds—so slight as to be a mere speck on the fair blue sky was all the warning we received.'

They saw its eruption from distance sitting in their boat in the Bay of Naples. His uncle was a very brave man. He was not satisfied to see it from a distance. He wanted to see it from a close distance. So after sometime he got down from his boat and approached the land of eruption. But unfortunately he could not go very near as the running molten lava engulfed him immediately. Pliny saw the horrors of the death of his uncle with his own eyes. He immediately

tely turned his boat towards the safest direction and fled away.

We left that place and followed the tourists, towards region VI or Forum. In the Forum there were once a number of temples. At present there exists only the remains of those temples. The large and short columns of white marble stones and the statues of bronze and white marble stones were scattered all over. On the north side of the Forum stood once the beautiful temples of Jupiter and Minerva. We saw them in a dilapidated and broken condition. Only a few columns of those temples were seen standing. They were all destroyed during the earthquake in 63 A.D. On the eastern side of the Forum stood, the four largest buildings all in a broken condition. The first one was the Portico del Macellum, the meat market situated at the junction of the Vico de Soprastanti and the main road of the Forum. The Macellum once was a four-sided roofed house which was surrounded by empty land where there was once a super-market selling wheat, fruits, wine and olive oil. That place was once crowded all the time. In that area stood once a cloth shop, Eumachia, belonging to the head priest of the temples where high class silk and many kinds of costly clothings were traded. The city of Pompeii had 23 brothels scattered in some places as it has been proved by written documents and signs found by excavation of that area. It was situated by the side of the highway, Strada dell Abbondanza. Between these two shops there were other shops present at that time. Just opposite the Macellum on the other side of the main road stood the temple, Tempio di Giove. Only the royal family members had been permitted to enter and worship the gods and goddesses there. Inside the temple we saw a few idols of

bronze and white marble stone and a few beautiful frescoes inside the walls of the temple. The temple itself was broken in many places.

The highway Strada dell Abbondanza ended at the city gate, the Porta Di Sarno. It was a very broad (32 feet) straight Road. By the side of that gate was region II which had housed once a large and a small amphitheatre. The large amphitheatre had 20000 seats to accommodate 20000 spectators, but it was in a broken condition. In region VIII stood the Foro Triangolare which housed so many interesting halls, such as Music Auditorium, theatres and the sport ground of the gladiators. The Gladiators used to live in region IV.

The whole of Pompeii was really beautiful and picturesque and was once built by the Roman engineers in a planned way. On the opposite side of the main road of the Macellum once stood a large building with a large hall which had been destroyed totally. Once it was the Municipal building of the city called Comitium. On the south of the Forum stood three large halls. The middle one was the chamber of the council and the other two were Govt. Offices. To the west of the Forum stood once two large buildings, one of them was called the Basilica which was built in the 2nd century B.C. most probably by the Greeks. It was once the largest building of the Forum and the other one was the Temple D'Apollon, surrounded by a beautiful garden. But nothing remained there except a few columns. The Basilica was divided by more than 30 columns making it into a large hall with corridors on all sides. We did not see any hall or corridors except a few columns standing there. The guide informed

us that this area had been destroyed during the 63 A. D. Earthquake and by the bombardment in the 2nd world war. To the opposite side of the main entrance once stood the High Court of the city. Next we went to the temple of Venus and saw there was no temple but only 21 columns of white marble alone and a part of the wall. There stood a famous arch called Are de Caligula-i. e.-Caligula's Arch.

After visiting the Forum we proceeded to the Pompeii Museum which was very near the Forum. It is a medium sized building which has housed many interesting valuables excavated from the ruins. The building has a few rooms and a large hall in front. Inside the hall and the rooms were kept lead pipes and spigots, different varieties of gold ornaments, a number of coins made of copper and some other metals, the casts of human beings and animals, various kinds of surgical instruments found in the Houses of the Surgeon, many household and agricultural implements made of iron, and a little Ivory handle of a mirror and many other things are kept in the different show cases.

The last exhibit was an interesting major relic of Indian art, the handle was curved into the shape of a highly provocative female figure. It at once had struck me that the figure of the handle was unmistakably related to one of the Yakshis of Sanchi in India. It might be indevol of in influence by in art of early Buddhism in that area. The number of frescos which we had seen in the houses of the wealthy people, in the house of the great fountain and on the walls of many temples we floral cupids, frieze with cherubs, goldsmith and glazier cherubs, perfumer cherubs,

cherubs in deer chariots, Hercules strangling the serpents and Issione tied to the wheel, Perseus rescuing Andromeda, who is shackled to the rock by the side of the sea and guarded by a dragon, Venus floating and a few statues were invaluable and worth visiting.

Though we had visited most of the important places, it was impossible to cover all the places such within a short time. It was nearly 6 P.M. We left the ruins and hurriedly went to the Porta Marina where our driver was waiting for us. Near the ruins there are two hotels, Hotel Suisse and Hotel Vittoria where the tourists could stay and visit the ruins.

In the first and second regions the excavators had found many things as such inscriptions and carvings on the walls and the stones—scribbling on love, politics, some latin phrases sung or abusing the wine and food or advertising fights between gladiators, in the arena and bets. In some regions they excavated old unuseable fountain drains, gutters for roofs and kitchens, streets with paving stones worn by chariot wheels, well preserved public buildings, wine shops and restaurants, decoration inside the rooms with beautiful frescos, their sewerage system, Doric temples, and artistic gold ornaments had thrown an amusing and informative light on the occupation, manner of life and the interests of the inhabitants of the city of Pompeii. They are most valuable to historians as well as to anthropologists in our time. They are remarkable articles by which we have come to know what everyday life was like in Roman times 2000 years ago. (Coeluded)

Current Affairs

ASIAN AND AFRICAN PEOPLES ARE FOR DETENTE

Prof. R. Ulyanovsky writes :

Never before, not since the Second World War, has the international situation been so serious and raising so many fears for the future development of international relations, as today. NATO's ruling circles, and above all the U. S. administration, have openly proclaimed a course towards attaining military superiority over the socialist countries and towards an unprecedented arms race.... Never before has the public movement against the threat of a nuclear war and for disarmament and peace been so sweeping and so effective as nowadays. A salient feature of the present stage in the anti-war movement is participation in it of the widest sections of the population, hundreds of millions of people, including in Asia and Africa.

The peoples of Asia and Africa are becoming increasingly aware of the dire, destructive consequences of the arms race. First, the arms race, by involving the Afro-Asian countries in its orbit, compels their governments to allocate growing sums of money for military ends, and to divert considerable material, raw material, energy and intellectual resources from constructive tasks. Secondly, in conditions of a runaway arms race and mounting international tension, many developing countries are easily infected with maladies and sores of modern capitalism-inflation, high cost of living, and other crisis phenomena; and the newly independent Asian and African

countries no longer can vigorously resist the onslaught of the transnational corporations. Thirdly and lastly, in an atmosphere of the militarist frenzy, the imperialist circles cease to distinguish between what belongs to them and what belongs to others, and begin more flagrantly and more crudely to interfere in the internal affairs of the developing countries,

Over the past two or three decades, far-reaching changes have taken place in the world. The colonial system of imperialism in its classic form has been abolished.... More than a hundred newly sovereign states have sprung up on the ruins of the former colonial empires. Today, the world community numbers more than 160 independent countries; most of them have won their national independence as a result of the breakdown of the colonial system of imperialism....

It can be stated today that the national liberation movement has entered a new period of development. Its characteristic feature is that more liberated countries link their path of development with peace, the security of their peoples, and social progress. Central to that path are becoming a resolute renunciation by the newly free countries of the present-day neo-colonialist forms of dependence, as imposed on them by imperialism, and the choice of the policy of defending peace, of non-alignment, and of working for a new economic order.

At the same time, the developing countries are undergoing differentiation, which is explained by their differing levels of socio-economic

ic and cultural and historical development, by the specific alignment of class forces within them, by the dissimilar position of these countries in world economics, and by some other factors.

About twenty African and Asian socialist-oriented states march in the vanguard of the struggle against imperialism, the old and new forms of colonialism, for a fundamental rearrangement of society along progressive lines. Of course, distinctions exist between them as well, and not just in the length of following the chosen road but also in some ideological questions, in social and economic structures and economic development levels, in specific forms and the degree of success in the transformations undertaken.

Many African and Asian states are trying to solve their problems on the basis of promoting capitalist relations. But even in this numerous group there are quite a few countries that are defending their national interests, their sovereignty, and often enter into a sharp confrontation with imperialism....

It is obvious that, in spite of the diversity and unsimilarity of developing states, factors exist that unite and rally them, factors creating a common platform in the struggle for a better future. They primarily include anti-imperialism, that is the fight for peace, freedom and independence; a firm determination to end the remnants of political colonialism, economic discrimination and the disgraceful practice of racism and apartheid; and a passionate wish to be the full master in one's own house.

Back in the initial period of the postwar development of the national-liberation movement, the popular masses of former colonies and semi-colonies learnt at first hand that

imperialism was an international force, that it was also necessary to meet the common enemy with a joint determined struggle, with the combined effort of all fighters for national and social liberation.

One of the practical forms of such unification of developing countries was the non-aligned movement, which has in its twenty-year-long history grown into an influential factor of international life. The principle of peaceful coexistence, the realisation of which is seen by member countries as the main guarantee of their national revival and free development has been the cornerstone of the non-aligned movement since its inception. The activity of non-aligned nations is invariably characterised by their understanding of the fact that imperialism is the chief enemy of the newly-independent states.

The non-aligned movement regards the joint struggle with the socialist community of nations for peace and detente as an earnest of its further successes. A number of socialist states, as well as all the countries of socialist orientation directly participate in it, which helps to consolidate the non-aligned movement on an anti-imperialist peace-loving basis.

Another important feature of the non-alignment movement is that it wages its struggle in coordination with the activity of such authoritative international organisations as the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, the Arab League, the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation and others, which, having an observer's status, take part in the non-alignment movement.

Proceeding from the principle of the indissoluble connection between political and economic independence, it is necessary always to take into account that the winning of national independence by the young states

only marked the beginning of a further and more difficult struggle for economic equality....

To attain their economic aims, the young states, first of all those of them which consistently pursue the policy of non-alignment, strengthen their unity and expand cooperation among themselves. This idea is behind the programme of restructuring international economic relations, which was advanced by the group of 77 in Arusha, Tanzania, in 1979.

The strengthening of economic and trade relations of the developing countries with the states of the socialist community makes for their economic independence. The struggle for democratic restructuring of international economic relations has been mounting within the frame-work of the common struggle of all revolutionary forces of the present day against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism, against all forms of foreign domination and oppression, for the economic, cultural and social emancipation of the emergent states,

The international democratic organisations, which unite millions of people in different countries, play an ever greater organizing and mobilizing role in the worldwide movement for ending the arms race and for disarmament. At the same time, new forces and organisations have emerged in the arena of active anti-war, anti-missile public movements. Such organisations now number over 3,000. With all the diversity of their programme ideas and character and forms of their activity, a considerable part of them actively struggles for preserving peace and for preventing a nuclear missile war.

The peoples of Asia and Africa have

sizeable reserves which have to be put to use in the active anti-war movement.

Excerpt From Pravda, February 16—APN

—Backgrounder

22. 2. 83

MOSCOW ON PROSPECTS IN GENEVA AND ON PEACE PROSPECTS

Gennady Gerasimov, APN Political
Correspondent writes :

If the United States sticks to its declared position at the Geneva talks on nuclear weapons in Europe, there will be no chance of achieving agreement.

This is the view of Andrei Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs and First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, expressed at a press conference in Moscow on April 2.

The occasion for the conference was provided by the US President's latest statements, and especially his "interim option" for the Geneva talks.

The Western mass media have played up the coming American initiative at these talks for many months. The US allies in NATO were persuading Washington to do something in order to show that the American side was interested also in the talks, and not only in missile deployment. Such a demonstration was needed to damp down the springtide of the anti-war movement in these countries, a movement advocating a nuclear-free Europe. This demonstration, like an Easter egg, was to coincide with the beginning of Easter holidays and Eastern peace marches in the West European countries.....

Andrei Gromyko declared that Moscow had every reason to say: Washington did not expect a positive Soviet response. The aim of Washington was by all means to get additional nuclear weapons deployed in Western Europe.

In this case, the Soviet Union will try to guard its interests and not to allow the upsetting of balance.

"We do have such potentialities," stressed Andrei Gromyko. That, however, would be a forced measure, because the Soviet Union prefers agreement. But the American "interim option" is unacceptable for a number of reasons.

First, it does not take into account the nuclear forces of Britain and France, NATO members and American allies.

Secondly, it does not take into account hundreds of American nuclear-capable aircrafts on airfields in West European countries and at least on six aircraft carriers cruising not far from Europe.

Thirdly, the American proposal also deals with the fate of Soviet medium-range missiles in the Asian part of the USSR. Yet, noted Andrei Gromyko, it is very important to bear in mind that American medium-range nuclear weapons backed up by a ring of military bases in that part of the world cover the entire Asian part of the Soviet Union, up to the Taimyr Peninsula. The Soviet Union is entitled to oppose that in some way for defensive purposes.

Publicly, however, this is something that is preferred not to be talked about.

Taking the number of nuclear charges as a criterion in assessing the ratio of forces, Andrei Gromyko said that if now the NATO countries had a 1, 5-1 advantage in medium-range

ge nuclear weapons, then in case of the implementation of the "interim option" NATO would have two and a half times as many such munitions.

The Soviet Union has urged the United States to take a more objective attitude to American-Soviet relations. The Soviet Union is for their improvement. To avoid nuclear war, the character of Soviet-American relations need to be changed for the better.

He recalled Soviet proposals, beginning with the one on general and complete disarmament. He described as a "bold and determined step" the pledge assumed by the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. He pointed to January's proposal of the Warsaw Treaty countries to NATO countries to conclude a treaty on the non-use of force between these two military alliances.

Moscow now hears in reply: "The proposal is being considered". This is what Helmut-Kohl and Hans-Dietrich Genscher told Andrei Gromyko in Bonn. But how long will that "consideration" last? In the opinion of Andrei Gromyko, if there is a will for peace, there can be no convincing argument against accepting that proposal.

Moscow is expecting serious and concrete answers.

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USSR Consulate General in Calcutta.

ANTI-INDIAN PROVOCATION

K. Georgiev Writes

Recently an event occurred in Washington, which cannot be described otherwise but an anti-Indian provocation. Chieftains of extre-

mists advocating secession of a part of the Punjab state from India and creation of an independent state of Khalistan gathered at a building of the US Congress. This gathering was attended by such prominent US political figures as Senators Jesse Helms and Pete Wilson. According to press reports, Helms was a sponsor of the meeting whose aim was to ensure a more substantial support by Washington for the idea of creating Khalistan. Lobbyists handed out various "information material", including a map of the south Asian subcontinent depicting a non-existent state....

It is not difficult to explain the emergence of a plan (aimed at destabilizing India) India's independent foreign policy, its constantly growing international prestige and the leading role played in the non-aligned movement have been provoking the US administration. This country's policy interferes with the implementation of the expansionist designs of the USA in Asia whose essence lies in expanding the sphere of political, economic and military influence of the USA on that continent.

Efforts of US intelligence are spearheaded at undermining the unity of the Indian people, dismembering India into several small states, entities subordinated to Washington's diktat. For this purpose it supports in every way separatist sentiments, conducts covert operations with a view to triggering an economic and political crisis in the country.

Punjab has occupied a place of prominence in Washington's plans, eg. Americans state ments on separatist leaders from Dal Khalsa standing up for Punjab's secession from India and creation of a Khalistan state. It is worthy of mentioning that Ganga Singh Dillon, a leader of this organization, is a US citizen.

Another one Jagjit Singh Chouhan, had been deprived of the Indian citizenship and found refuge in the West where he proclaimed himself a self-styled President of so-called Khalistan. Incidentally, Senator Jesse Helms, one of the above-mentioned participants in the Washington get-together, used his high post to get an entrance visa for Chouhan.

Chouhan and his colleagues incite riots in Punjab and neighbouring Haryana, for setting up "embassies" and "consulates" of non-existent Khalistan in several Western countries. These "diplomatic" missions have become coordinating centres for conducting anti-Indian activities. It is worth-while noting that Punjab is far from being the only state where such operations (are conducted)...

Washington has displayed an increased interest of late in the state of Jammu and Kashmir which is of great strategic importance. Harry Barnes, US Ambassador to India as well as other Embassy staff members met leaders of local separatists there. One of them held a conference with local secessionists where they discussed plans of struggle against India's national and territorial integrity.

The meeting of Punjab separatists in Washington shows that far from stopping anti-Indian activities the USA, tries to expand their scale.

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THE RIGHT TO WORK IN BULGARIA

The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria guarantees to each and every one

of its citizens the right freely to choose his profession, and to receive payment in return for his (or her) work, according to the quantity and quality of the work he (or she) has done. The all-round development of the national economy has created conditions in public production, which enable hundreds of thousands of workers and employees to join in it. The State sees to it that the qualifications and production experience of the citizens should improve.

The right to work is universal and equal in Bulgaria. It is freely realized. On completing his (or her) 16th year, every Bulgarian citizen, regardless of his nationality, origin, creed, sex, race, education, social or material status, can apply for a job and go to work in any enterprise or office, in accordance with his (or her) qualifications and education. Enterprises, offices and organizations are bound to create favourable working conditions as regards hygiene and labour safety.

Working hours are strictly established — a five day working week of 42 hours with two days of rest. Overtime is forbidden. It can only be imposed by exception, after permission has been obtained from the Inspectorate of Labour Safety.

In a number of Normative Acts labour legislation has expressed the special care enjoyed by young people. Among other things, education has the task of shaping the character of schoolchildren and developing in them the qualities which will enable them, on completing their education, to be full-fledged workers and employees.

Young people, graduating from universities, colleges, special institutes, technical schools, secondary special and professional-

technical schools, are given jobs according to a special order on completing their education. The travelling expenses of experts and members of their families, as well as those for transporting their household goods and furniture from their permanent homes to their place of work, are paid for by the enterprise or office to which they are appointed.

The heads of ministries, departments and district people's councils, to which young specialists are sent, are bound to ensure dwelling places for them, and assist them in finding work for the members of their families, and placing their children in creches, kindergartens. etc.

All this clearly shows that for the citizens of the People's Republic of Bulgaria not only the necessary prerequisites for exercising their right to work have been created, but also real guarantees for defending this right.

—News From Bulgaria
May 1983

'THE CHALLENGE OF CHANGE'

Excerpts from

President Ronald Reagan's State of the Union address—

Nearly half a century ago another American President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, in his second State of the Union message, urged America to look to the future—to meet the challenge of change and the need for leadership that looks forward, not backward....

The problems we inherited were far worse than most inside and out of government had expected; the recession was deeper than most inside and out of government had predicted. Curing those problems has taken

more time, and a higher toll, than any of us wanted. Unemployment is far too high. Projected federal spending—if government refuses to tighten its own belt—will also be far too high and could weaken and shorten the economic recovery now underway.

The inflationary expectations that led to a 21½ percent prime rate and soaring mortgage rates two years ago are now reduced by almost half. Lenders have started to realize that double-digit inflation is no longer a way of life. So, interest rates have tumbled, paving the way for recovery in vital industries like housing and autos.

We are witnessing an upsurge of productivity and impressive evidence that American industry will once again become competitive in markets at home and abroad—ensuring more jobs and better incomes for the nation's workforce,

In the meantime, the challenge of government is to identify the things we can do now to ease this massive economic transition for the American people.

The Four-Part Budget Plan for Economic Growth: The federal budget is both a symptom and a cause of our economic problems. Unless we reduce the dangerous growth rate in government spending, we could face the prospect of sluggish economic growth into the indefinite future. Failure to cope with this problem now could mean as much as a trillion dollars more in national debt in the next four years alone.

Let us be clear about where the deficit problem comes from. Contrary to the drumbeat we have been hearing for the last few months, the deficits we face are not rooted in defense spending. Taken as a percentage

of the gross national product, our defense spending happens to be only about four-fifths of what it was in 1970. Nor is the deficit, as some would have it, rooted in tax cuts. Even with our tax cuts, taxes as a fraction of gross national product remain about the same as they were in 1970.

The fact is, our deficits come from the uncontrolled growth of the budget for domestic spending. During the 1970s, the share of our national income devoted to this domestic spending increased by more than 60 percent—from 10 cents out of every dollar produced by the American people to 16 cents.

Let me outline a four-part plan to increase economic growth and reduce deficits.

First, in my budget message, I will recommend a federal spending freeze. I know this is strong medicine, but so far we have only cut the rate of increase in federal spending. The government has continued to spend more money each year, though not as much more as it did in the past. Taken as a whole, the budget I am proposing for the next fiscal year will increase no more than the rate of inflation—in other words, the Federal Government will hold the line on real spending.

I will request that the proposed sixmonth freeze in cost-of-living adjustments recommended by the Social Security Commission be applied to other government-related retirement programs. I will also propose a one-year freeze on a broad range of domestic spending programs, and for federal civilian and military pay and pension programs.

Second, I will ask the Congress to adopt specific measures to control the growth of the so-called "uncontrollable" spending programs. These are the automatic spending

programs, such as food stamps, that cannot be simply frozen—and that have grown by over 400 percent since 1970. They are the largest, single cause of the built-in or “structural” deficit problem. Our standard here will be fairness—insuring that the taxpayers’ hard-earned dollars go only to the truly needy; that none of them are turned away; but that fraud and waste are stamped out. And, there is a lot of it out there. In the food stamp program alone, last year we identified almost \$1, 100 million in overpayments.

Third, I will adjust our program to restore America’s defenses by proposing \$55,000 million in defense savings over the next five years.

Fourth, because we must insure reduction and eventual elimination of deficits over the next several years, I will propose a standby tax limited to no more than 1 percent of the gross national product to start in fiscal 1986. It would last no more than three years and would start only if the Congress has first approved our spending freeze and budget control program.

I realize that this four-part plan is easier to describe than it will be to enact. But the looming deficits that hang over us must be reduced.

Expanding Employment Opportunities: No domestic challenge is more crucial than providing stable, permanent jobs for all Americans who want to work. The recovery will provide jobs for most, but others will need special help and training for new skills. Shortly, I will submit to the Congress the Employment Act of 1983 designed to get at the special problems of the long-term unemployed as well as young

people trying to enter the job market. I will propose extending unemployment benefits, including special incentives to employers who hire the long-term unemployed, providing programs for displaced workers, and helping federally-funded and state-administered unemployment insurance programs provide workers with training and relocation assistance. Finally, our proposal will include new incentives for summer youth employment to help young people get a start in the job market.

A New Priority for Trade; One out of every five jobs in the United States depends on trade. So, I will propose a broader strategy in the field of international trade—one that increases the openness of our trading system and is fairer to America’s farmers and workers in the world marketplace.

Widening Education Horizons: We Americans are still the world’s technological leader in most fields. We must keep that edge, and to do so we need to begin renewing the basics—starting with our educational system. While we grow complacent, others have acted. Japan, with a population only about half the size of ours, graduates from its universities more engineers than we do....

Assuring a Fair Society; Our commitment to fairness means that we must assure legal and economic equity for women, and eliminate, once and for all, all traces of unjust discrimination against women from the U.S. code. We will not tolerate wage discrimination based on sex and we intend to strengthen enforcement of child support laws to ensure that single parents, most of whom are women, do not suffer unfair financial hardship.

Also in the area of fairness and equity,

we will ask for extension of the Civil Rights Commission which is due to expire this year. The Commission is an important part of the ongoing struggle for justice in America, and we strongly support its reauthorization.

Mobilizing the Private Sector: Over the past year, our task force on private sector initiatives has successfully forged a working partnership involving leaders of business, labor, education and government to address the training needs of American workers. Thanks to the task force, private sector initiatives are now underway in all 50 states of the Union and thousands of working people have been helped on making the shift from dead-end jobs and low-demand skills to the growth areas of high technology and the service economy. Additionally, a major effort will be focused on encouraging the expansion of private community child care.....

America and the World: America's leadership role in the world came to us because of our own strength and because of the values which guide us as a society: free elections, a free press, freedom of religious choice, free trade unions, and, above all, freedom for the individual and rejection of the arbitrary power of the state. These values are the bedrock of our strength...

Strengthening the World Economy: But our strategy for peace with freedom must also be based on strength—economic strength and military strength. A strong American economy is essential to the well-being and security of our friends and allies. The restoration of a strong, healthy American economy has been and remains one of the central pillars of our foreign policy.

We must also recognize that our own

economic well-being is inextricably linked to the world economy. We export over 20 percent of our industrial production, and 40 percent of our farmland produces for export. We will continue to work closely with the industrialized democracies of Europe and Japan and with the International Monetary Fund to ensure it has adequate resources to help bring the world economy back to strong, non-inflationary growth. As the leader of the West and as a country that has become great and rich because of economic freedom, America must be an unrelenting advocate of free trade.

Restoring America's Defenses: As we begin our third year, we have put in place a defense program that redeems the neglect of the past decade. We have developed a realistic military strategy to deter threats to the peace, and to protect our freedom if deterrence fails.

A Bipartism Policy for Peace: America's foreign policy is once again based on bipartisanship—on realism, strength, full partnership and consultation with our allies, and constructive negotiation with potential adversaries. From the Middle East to Southern Africa to Geneva, American diplomats are taking the initiative to make peace and lower arms levels. We should be proud of our role as peacemakers,

U. S. Soviet Relation and Arms Reduction: At the heart of our strategy for peace is our relationship with the Soviet Union.

The past year saw a change in Soviet leadership. We are prepared for a positive change in Soviet-American relations. But the Soviet Union must show, by deeds as well as words, a sincere commitment to res-

pect the rights and sovereignty of the family of nations.

For our part, we are vigorously pursuing arms reductions negotiations with the Soviet Union. Supported by our allies, we have now put forward draft agreements proposing significant weapons reductions to equal and verifiable lower levels. We insist on an equal balance of forces. And, given the over-whelming evidence of Soviet violations of international treaties concerning chemical and biological weapons, we also insist that any agreement we sign can and will be verifiable.

In the case of intermediate-range nuclear forces, we have proposed the complete elimination of the entire class of land-based missiles. We are also prepared to carefully explore serious Soviet proposals.....

—Span
March 1983

IN DEFENCE OF SOCIAL SAFETY NET

Francis Blanchard, ILO Director-General
writes :

Social security systems in the industrialised countries are in trouble. Many national funds are only being kept out of the red by government subsidy—a process which means in effect that these funds are living beyond their means and thus stoking the process of inflation.

The malaise stems from factors external to the schemes themselves. There is firstly the world economic recession which forces the funds to become national shock absorbers on a scale they were never designed to face.

As unemployment grows in volume—now more than 30 million in the OECD countries—as well as in duration (with as much as one-third of the unemployed out of a job more than six months)—the income of the funds has suffered a slump.

At the same time they are being called upon to meet unprecedented expenses. In France, for example, unemployment payments which amounted to only 1.1 percent of benefits in 1971 rose to 6.5 per cent in 1980. In the Federal Republic of Germany the absolute value of unemployment benefits rose from 7 million marks in 1970 to 15 billion in 1981. Some of the measures being taken to encourage employment of the young and of older persons, such as their exemption from social security contributions, also affect the equilibrium of the funds.

The second major reason for the crisis is the changing demographic structure with fewer and fewer working people having to support ever greater numbers of retired people. With falling birth rates and improved health services, the percentage of older people in the total population has been growing rapidly.

Lowering the retirement age—doubtless a desirable objective has also added to the burden on the funds in a manner which has not always been anticipated.

Probably the most dramatic impact, however, has come from the striking rise in the cost of medical services. These soared five-fold between 1960 and 1977 in most of the industrialised countries including the United States, Japan, France and Canada. Contrary to the opinion of some who believe that rising expenditure on health has simply stemmed from its cost-free availability, the

patients' participation in the payment for medical services does not seem to affect its scale.

For example, in France where the patient bears 25 per cent of the cost, consumption has not proved to be lower than in the United Kingdom where the entire cost is borne by the fund. The reasons have to be sought rather in the increasing sophistication of services as well, of course, as the psychological factor of requiring and expecting ever better services.

SEARCHING FOR SOLUTIONS

While a very few European countries have been spared the worst of these problems—Norway and Switzerland, for example—on the whole the industrialised countries are now looking in the same directions for solutions.

The easiest remedy is simply to reduce the benefits. In Sweden, for example, the first two days of sickness are not covered. In a number of countries pensions are no longer index-linked. Some countries have scored notable successes. Thus in the Netherlands the growth in expenditure has dropped from 18 per cent in 1975 to 8.6 per cent in 1979.

But to pursue this path consistently implies a reversal in social policy. It means calling upon workers to abandon an acquired right. Politically it is hazardous and from the point of view of social progress, undesirable.

Another approach has been to "privatise", excluding certain benefits from automatic coverage. The effect of this method also is to question the liberal principle of the welfare state providing protection to the

entire population. Often this course of action is sweetened by the argument that too much security reduces dynamism and that excessive social security contributions are limiting industrial competitiveness. Studies, however, have shown that on the whole social security contributions form only a small part of the total expenditure for labour and are much subordinate to the item of wages.

Another approach has been on the contrary to place the burden on the shoulders of society as a whole, making the tax payer rather than the beneficiary wholly responsible for financing the funds.

However, the essential question is rather that of the global weight of obligatory payments—taxes and contributions—on the economy and of a threshold of tolerance which should not be exceeded.

There remains the narrow path of rationalisation. This includes reduction of waste, more efficient management, more attention to prevention of accidents rather than their compensation.

INTERNATIONAL MINIMA

Looking at these trends and the great debate to which they have given rise, I would like to stress one thing. The social element in the body politic is vulnerable. In a list of options for cuts, social measures may seem the least damaging to eliminate and yet they are the core of national stability and cohesion and far more difficult to restore than to eliminate.

The ILO's conventions—international treaties laying down standards—have sought in the social security field to lay down a comprehensive set of international minima.

Very specific, in their formulation, they have in a way defined an international safety net on social security below which the ratifying countries cannot permit their coverage to sink.

I stress: these are minima. As the debate proceeds about the various ways for easing the burdens of social security, the ILO's conventions, which are very widely ratified, are there as an ever-present safety net below which cuts cannot be contemplated.

TRADE UNIONS HOLD KEY TO PRODUCTIVITY INCREASE

High unemployment and low labour productivity continue to plague many developing nations in Asia, hampering their progress towards economic self-reliance. While the crucial role of higher production in generating national wealth is widely recognised, the key to the creation of a hospitable environment that would motivate the worker to produce more has eluded many countries.

A seminar on Trade Unions, Industrial Relations and Productivity, organised by the ILO's Workers, Education Branch and held recently in Tokyo, contributed to the identification of the key factors for the development of a meaningful partnership between government, management and trade unions for sound labour relations and higher productivity in the countries of the region. Participants included experts from the majority of Asian countries with varied social systems and from workers' organisations of different orientation and international affiliation.

In the developing countries of Asia, the climate of responsible industrial relations or worker motivation for higher productivity is only just beginning to emerge. Many Asian countries have made enormous progress in the last two decades in developing and modernising industry. But, at least in the early stages of this development, insufficient attention was paid to labour relations so that production and productivity levels remained rather low. This situation is now beginning to be understood and appropriate measures are being considered to develop sound industrial relations and to raise productivity.

UNEMPLOYMENT CHIEF CONCERN

While trade unions in Asia are as committed as government and management to increasing productivity in industry, their primary concern has been and continues to centre on combatting the high level of unemployment in their countries. In fact, the right of trade unions to exist freely, to fully represent their members, is seen as the first basic step towards higher productivity. Indeed, full recognition, coupled with a system of free collective bargaining at all relevant levels, and the recognition of trade unions as equal partners participating in all processes and activities related to raising productivity are essential prerequisites in motivating the workers to produce more, the meeting said.

Productivity increase is closely related to technological innovation, investment in new equipment and the introduction of modern techniques. But these measures can yield results only if the worker is accepted as a human being and not merely as a cog in the production machine.

Many countries in Asia have already established national productivity organisations. Trade union participation in productivity improvement efforts and related national development programmes have, however, been hampered by the high incidence of unemployment. And in most developing countries in Asia there are no social security or welfare benefits for the jobless to fall back on. As one participant at the seminar put it: "You cannot force a hungry and an oppressed worker to think beyond today and tomorrow."

HOPEFUL SIGNS

But there are hopeful signs that the leaders of national and international trade unions are looking to the future, beyond the compelling tasks of the moment. They recognise that increased productivity means a larger pie for the final share-out and that the worker's right to a fair share of the added wealth generated by productivity increases is a basic must. The acceptance of this right by all concerned should go a long way in triggering worker motivation to produce more.

The involvement of workers' organisations as full partners in the process of increasing productivity is considered equally essential. Seminar participants pointed out that the traditional "adversary" approach of trade unions towards management and vice versa, with its class-conflict overtones, should give way to one of full partnership, based on sound relations and a shared commitment to higher productivity and national development.

—News From ILO
February 1983

ISRAEL-LEBANON NEGOTIATIONS

The opening of negotiations between Israel and Lebanon on 28 December 1982 marked an important breakthrough in the peace process between Israel and its neighbours. After, Egypt, Lebanon is the second neighbouring state to enter into direct negotiations with Israel. The fact that the talks are being held alternately at Halde, in Lebanon, and at Kiryat Shemona, in Israel, is in itself significant: There is direct, ongoing contact between the two sides, in the area itself...

Israel's operation Peace for Galilee was launched not against Lebanon or the Lebanese people, but against the PLO terrorists on Lebanese soil. As a result of this action, Israel's northern borders have been secured and an opportunity has emerged restore Lebanon for the Lebanese Government to independence and to reimpose its full authority in all parts of the country,

An opportunity exists now, too, for good-neighbourly relations between Lebanon and Israel, to replace the tensions and hostilities of the past. Normal intercourse already exists, in many areas, between Lebanon and Israel, and many Lebanese, both Christians and Moslems, have grown accustomed to these developments, just as they have naturally accepted official exchanges and direct talks.

Good-neighbourly relations are now due to find expression in written and signed agreements. The basis for the present talks, and their ultimate goal, are the establishment of a framework for cooperation and fruitful relations which, in addition to providing for appropriate security arrangement, will also promote the exchange of goods and the movement of people between two countries. Clearly, today's reality of open borders and

bilateral contacts and relations will better take root and grow if it is regulated in formal and unambiguous agreements. Israel is anxious to reach such agreements with all possible speed.

Some observers of the present negotiations argue that the pressures being exerted on the Lebanese, from both within the country and the outside, as well as the dangling of economic enticements by Arab countries with which Lebanon has ties, cannot be ignored. Unless, however, Lebanon now stands firm in the face of attempts to sabotage the peace process by elements clearly hostile to the common interests of Lebanon and Israel, Arab states that might in future show interest in entering into peace talks with Israel could well be discouraged from doing so by similar tactics. To accept this "logic" now would encourage militants and severely set back the chances of peace between Israel and other neighbours.

Both Israel and Lebanon cherish a natural desire for peace in the wake of the suffering they have endured because of PLO and Syrian occupation of Lebanon. It is now for Lebanon to overcome psychological barriers and to free itself from the pressures that have so far discouraged it from advancing confidently towards a relationship with Israel rooted in overall security and mutual trust....

Israel, for its part, is confident that, present difficulties notwithstanding, the common interests of the two countries will ultimately prevail, leading to a successful conclusion of the current negotiations.

When the negotiations between Israel and Lebanon began, a month ago, a broad area of agreement already existed between the two countries with regard to the talks. Israel has been negotiating in good faith in order to help

bring about an accord which, in its wake, would facilitate the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon. The negotiations have made some headway: agreement has been reached on the agenda; working subcommittees have been established and have started meeting; and the negotiations themselves continue to be held on a regular basis at Halde and Kiryat Shemona. At this point Israel is convinced that more progress could have been made, were it not for a number of factors that seek to undermine the talks.

Israel views normal relations with Lebanon as an integral part of any security arrangements.... Normal relations between two neighbouring countries cannot be considered as a betrayal of national interests. Yet, Israel's efforts to reach agreement on normal relations are being resisted. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the Lebanese resistance to normalizing relations with Israel is the result of Arab pressure and is one more indication that the Arab world does not want peace with Israel. If indeed peace is its goal, then surely it would not consider the movement of goods and people between two neighbours as something akin to treason, nor would it consider the negotiations which are now taking place in such a friendly atmosphere as something to be castigated and condemned.

Based on past experience, Israel does not consider the presence of UNIFIL or a multinational force sufficient to prevent terrorist infiltrations into southern Lebanon and the dangers of destruction to both countries which would be posed by a return of terrorism and violence. There can be no substitute for iron-clad security guarantees reinforced by good-neighbourly relations between the two

countries. Following its establishment in southern Lebanon in 1978, UNIFIL was unable to stop rocket attacks against Israeli population centres and the retrenchment of the PLO in the area under their supervision. Recently, the multinational force stationed in Beirut has been unable to stop PLO terrorists from infiltrating through its lines to carry out acts of sabotage and attack Israeli troops in the area.

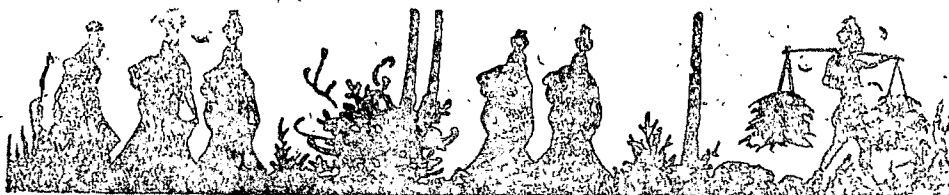
At the outset of the negotiations, Israel raised proposals designed to create momentum in order to achieve the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon. It suggested a plan for a partial withdrawal of all foreign forces, under certain conditions. Unfortunately, there is little evidence to date that efforts have been made by the other parties concerned to give serious thought to this

plan. This proposal is one example of Israel's desire to advance the negotiations in ways that appear to be realistic and acceptable.

Israel's aims are clear; to leave Lebanon as soon as possible; to establish security arrangements which will prevent Lebanese territory from being used once more for hostile attacks against Israel; and to formalize the good-neighbourly relations that exist between the Israeli and Lebanese people. In order to achieve a speedy and positive arrangement to the satisfaction of all, Israel's efforts must be matched by a bold and constructive approach on the part of the other parties to the talks.

—News from Israel

—March 1, 1983



"THROUGH THE END"

DJORDJE KOSTIC

Translated from Serbo-Croatian

by

ALOKANANDA MITTER

25

Na koju strana da krene,
u koju ruku da grune
razapete udice.

Sve je svuda potamnelo,
bestezinske ogrlice
viso svuda iznad mene i cekaju
sporo

jutro da pokupi
narukvice,
i uz telo pripijeno
toplom hranom pijavice
da zagrne i ogrne i da
zaspi kao san,
kao pre,
i kao dan.

27

Kod svakog trenutka
raspevana svadba i
poklon iznenada od nekud
prispeo.

Udjite slobodno !

Ovo je samo moja kuća.
ili trenutak moj.

25

On which side to go,
on which hand to throw
the line of fishing-hooks.

Darkness falls everywhere,
weightless necklaces
dangle above me
and wait for slow morning
to gather bracelets
and press close
with warm food of leeches
to cover, embrace,
fall asleep like a dream
as before,
as the day.

27

At every moment
a wedding rejoices,
from somewhere a sudden gift
appears.

—Welcome inside,
This is my house,
or just my moment.

26

Hladne su mi ruke, i prsti prazni
ostavljeni sami,
otkinuti i odneti,
sa dozivom u kostima
i očima u nocima,
ostacima na rukama,
čisto beli i fosforni,
ostavljeni ispod vrata
pred samoće
da ih nadje,
mimoidje,
nekad neko kada svane
pod svodove ove kuće.

28

A juče je ostalo na peti otisnuto
kraj puta,
kao da je zaboravljeno ili otkinuto,
ostalo je uzemljeno,
okruženo i pognuto.

Neka ste dobro došli !

Mi većito cutimo u ćauri

nesporazuma.

Niko nas ne pita :

kada smo došli

ni kada smo pošli ?

26

My hands are cold, my fingers
empty
abandoned, alone,
plucked and removed
with a cry in the bones
and eyes in the night,
with remnants on hands,
clear white and phosphorous,
left under the door
in front of solitude
to be found,
and passed,
by somebody someday
when dawn approaches
below the arches
of this house.

28

Yesterday
was left on the heel imprinted
at the side of the road,
as if forgotten or cast off,
left earthed,
encircled and bent.

So, you are welcome !

We are silent forever
in a cocoon of misunderstanding.

Nobody asks us :

When we came

nor when we went ?

Indian and Foreign Periodicals

FEAR AND PROPERTY

DAVID COWEN Writes

Fear is the most destructive emotion in man. His negative feelings—his destructiveness, his power-urges and his cruelty—all spring from his innate fears.

Knowing this and realizing that fear is illusory is the most awakening, freeing thought there is.

For what is there to fear? It is only a lack of understanding, a lack of awareness, a certain kind of blindness.

To be unafraid does not mean to be reckless. You will act with full awareness of your actions. You will avoid, to the best of your ability, causing pain to yourself or others. You will be sensitive to the effects of your actions upon others. You will not die needlessly before your time; yet when death comes it is welcomed as a friend. You will not fear the storm, for it will pass and it has great beauty and is an experience not to be missed.

Eliminate fear and you have eliminated most of man's woes. People will be kinder to one another for there will be nothing to fear, nothing to lose, nothing to destroy or hurt.

You walk in the valley of death and are not afraid for even there, there is life.

Property is not so much a right as a responsibility. It is basically one's attitude to it that is important.

In itself, property is neither good nor bad. But when it becomes an adjunct to

the ego it is no longer a benefit but an obsession.

People, too, can be seen as possessions, as property—'a man's wife,' for example.

The responsibility of private property is not to be taken lightly. A person should relinquish his preoccupation with it if it affects the mental or social health of the majority.

As 'no man is an island,' every man in society has a duty to his neighbour. Private property can come between him and his obligations. This does not mean that one should not own private property, but it does mean that where the public good is concerned private property must take second place.

The 'having' society creates desires and demands which are never satisfied; it leads to greed and violence and ends in self-destruction.

A 'being' society is a saner society, for 'being' does not need to 'have' and it knows that possessions have value only in so far as they fulfil a need that is vital to life itself. Possessions then become tools that can be used for the common good.

They do not bolster up the ego or promise a false sense of security.

Property by itself has no value in a 'being' society for 'to be' has more meaning than 'to have'. 'Being' accepts that outer security is an illusion so long as one is not secure within oneself.

Total freedom is not feasible from the very nature of life itself which, in all its forms,

is a community of association. The atoms, the cells, the human body, the person, the family, the nation are all combinations of finely tuned inter-relationships, each bound to the other for survival, each needing the other, each limited in its freedom to be individualistic.

Therefore freedom is conditional and has meaning only as it accepts responsibility for others. One is free to be and to become but if one attempts to claim unfettered freedom for oneself, in the long run one finds oneself in chains that are stronger than the will to freedom.

Being free involves no personal attachments to fellow human beings or to things. True freedom is propertyless.

—From The Theosophist
January 1983

MAHARSHI DEBENDRANATH TAGORE

Dr Jogindra Nath Chowdhuri Writes

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan in his book 'Recovery of Faith' says, "Ramakrishna, Devendranath Tagore, Ramana Maharshi are among our modern spiritual seers." In the main building of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, New Delhi, I found some names written under the heading—"Those who saw God," and among them was the name of Debendranath.

Born on May 15, 1817, Debendranath was the eldest son of Dwarkanath Tagore, an intimate friend and close associate of Raja Rammohan Roy, and a big Zamindar and a business magnate. As Dwarkanath's income was in profusion, so was also his charity in abundance. A contemporary newspaper wrote about him thus, "To describe Dwarkanath's public charities would be to enumerate every charitable institution in Calcutta, for, from

which of them has he withheld his most liberal donations?

He has not only given largely but wisely."

An well-educated and liberal man, he had been to England twice and was a friend of the famous Sanskrit scholar, F. Max Mueller...

Debendranath was thus born of an illustrious father who took proper care for the education of the son. His education first started in his home and then he was admitted into the Anglo-Hindu School of Rammohun, and, afterwards, into Hindu College, Calcutta. But at the age of seventeen, his father took him out of the College and made him a probationer in the Union Bank where Dwarkanath was a director. Debendranath had also to take training in Carr and Co., in which his father held 50% shares. By and by, he became acquainted with big men in Calcutta—Indians and Europeans. When at times, his father entertained such persons in garden-parties with pomp and grandeur, he was on occasions, asked to look after them. But he was indifferent to these things while his father considered them essential for a successful business career. Dwarkanath soon realized that the mind of the son was bent towards religion and philosophy.....

At the age of twenty-one, on the moonlit night just previous to the death of his (Debendranath's) grand-mother when she had been lying under a shed by the side of the Nimtala burning-ghat, and 'Sankiten' was going on there, Debendranath felt suddenly a mysterious change in his mind—a feeling of heavenly joy, of stoicism, and of indifference to wealth. He felt astonished at this and thought within himself that upto then he had neither known nor learnt anything about God and religion. His natural inquisitive query within himself was then: "Wherefrom did I receive such bliss?"

On further thinking, he came to realize

that God in His infinite Grace had blessed him at the right moment of his life. His query within himself was then, "Who says there is no God?"

Thus Debendranath received the ray of a new life, though for a short while only. But as he could not receive such bliss again in spite of his best endeavours in prayer and meditation, a peculiar despondency soon overtook him. He was in utter despair about his future, and finding no other hope, he made up his mind to study Sanskrit in right earnest and to master this language well enough to understand thoroughly the sacred scriptures, viz, the vedas and the upanishads which might be of benefit to him.

During the "dark night of his soul," as Debendranath called this stage of his life, a flying leaf of Isopanishad, edited by Rammohan Roy, accidentally came to his notice and he picked it up. This paper came to his relief, as it gave him a clue to his future course of action. He realized the imperative necessity of abandoning all worldly pleasures, pomp and grandeur and of concentrating his attention to the meditation and worship of God with a view to deriving real peace of mind.

A distaste for wealth and luxury grew in him, and he became a sincere devotee of one All-pervading God. His real state of mind may be known from one of his subsequent letters to Max Mueller in which he wrote, "To be in the world; but not of it, is my beautiful ideal of a Sannyasin, and in that sense I am one."

In his boyhood, he had occasion to come into close contact with Rammohan who made a deep impression on his mind and on whom he looked with special veneration. The Rajah's belief in one God appealed to him most, shaking his belief in the worship of

different deities. Afterwards, as he came to acquire a good knowledge of the upanishads, belief in one God above all gods found a permanent impress in his heart.

The Tattwabodhini Sabha was established on October 6, 1839 mainly with the object of publicizing the underlying Truth of all scriptures and specially that of the upanishads. "With the formation of this Sabha, Rammohan Roy's religious and social views emerge in the life of the nation...as the embodiments of all-round progress. The unification of these diverse elements of the national life through the bond of national monotheism was an organizational achievement of no mean order and it reflects credit on the tact, foresight and earnestness of the young Debendranath." (History of Bengal, 1757-1905, Calcutta University, p. 568.)

He was initiated into Brahmoism on the 7th Paus, 1765 saka (December 21, 1843.) He held this day of his initiation very sacred, and considered it as heralding a new life in him

Following the footsteps of his father, Rabindranath used to observe the above day every year by an 'utsav' with special 'upasana' or prayer to God at Santiniketan; discussions on various religions and a fair were also held. As desired by the Maharshi in his Trust Deed of Santiniketan, this day is being observed as above, even at present.....

He also desired thorough acquaintance with the Vedas, which, unfortunately, was not then available in Bengal. So, he sent four pandits to Benares to study them there.

Debendranath had been to Benares once to know the real state of things there. In 1845, he published the book, Vedantic Doctrines vindicated, and, in the same year, at his instance, was started the English translation of the Upanishads by Rajnarayan

Basu. From 1848, he started the publication of the Bengali translation of the Rig-Veda with its original in Sanskrit in the Tattvabodhini.

The initiation of Debendranath along with twenty other young men into Brahmoism by Pandit Ramchandra Vidyavagis, the first acharya of the Brahma Samaj, must be taken to be a momentous event in the history of the Brahma Samaj and, this is specially so, because of the initiation of Debendranath who played a very significant role in revitalizing the Brahma Samaj....

His father expired in London on August 1, 1846, and in the course of about 1½ years Carr Tagore and Co, and the Union Bank, in which Debendranath and his brothers had vital interests, went into liquidation owing to losses because of world-wide trade depression. To meet the liabilities of Carr and Co., he did not hesitate to give up their properties received by a Trust of the father, although he alone had no proper authority to do so. A conscientious man as he was, he wanted to get rid of the liabilities even by living in poverty after surrendering as much property as need be. On another occasion, not long apart, as soon as he found that he had forgotten to include in the inventory of their property his valuable ring, then on his finger, he requested its inclusion in the list. He paid also his father's promised amount of one lakh of rupees (with interest) to the District Charitable Society, desired by his father in his will, as he very rightly considered it, too, as a debt. It appears from his autobiography that he was not at all sorry for financial losses. Rather he felt himself one ladder up in his spiritual life, and despite various problems and worries for the discharge of liabilities, he devoted most of his wakeful moments in prayer, study to shastras, and in writing religious books.

He was, also, always aware of his sacred duty of service to humanity and tried to do good to the people in every possible way. He gave liberal donations to various institutions. The Hindu charitable institution in Calcutta was established mainly through his efforts. He was connected with many other institutions including the Hindu College. He was, also, in favour of female education, and was of opinion that the main obstruction to the spread of their education was ignorance and conservatism of men.

He was, moreover, connected with many organizations of social welfare. He was an active member of the Hindu Theo-Philanthropic Society which had as its object the moral uplift of the people. As President of the Suhrid Samiti, his efforts were directed towards female education, re-marriage of Hindu widows, abolition of early marriages and of polygamy. According to Jogesh Chandra Bagal, one of his biographers he gave away lakhs and lakhs of rupees in charity for the welfare of the people....

Frequently, did he (the Maharshi) go to his "Sadhan Ashram" at Santiniketan, and at times, to the Himalayas, the natural beauties of which not only charmed him but he felt keenly the presence of the Creator amidst His bountiful gifts there. Rabindranath, in his boyhood, was once taken to Dalhousie by his father, and, thereby, the future poet laureate "early learnt to commune with Nature amidst the sublime solitude of the King of Mountains.".....

We can, also, in no way, forget his contributions to Bengali literature which is evident, specially from his autobiography and valuable writings on various topics, including his Bengali translation of the Rig-Veda, published in the Tattvabodhini Patrika founded by him.

—The Indian Messenger
February 1983

OUTER SPACE AND THE ECONOMY

I. Isachenko, Cand. Sc. (Economics)

Writes

There was a time when people questioned the practicality of space exploration. They no longer do. Astronomy, weather forecasting, medicine, biology, agriculture, metallurgy, and many other areas need information that can be obtained only in outer space. Expenditures on space exploration have already been more than compensated.....

One of the important results of space exploration is the creation of new technical means which can be widely used in the economy.

Communication space satellites are an integral part of the infrastructure of the modern world economy. According to the estimates of UN experts, a total of 95 satellite communication systems, including three international, five regional and 70 national, are now operating, or will be operating by 1985. Countries which do not have communication satellites of their own use communications channels provided by the space satellites of other countries and of international organisations. The volume of information provided by Sputniks is growing steadily, this despite the fact that other means of communication are also being developed. It is expected that by the year 2000 satellite-based communication systems will ensure up to 25 per cent of the total volume of radiotelephone service and up to 50 per cent of the total volume of visual transmissions and the transmission of digital information.

Satellite communication systems have made it possible to improve greatly the quality of the service provided. Sputniks have provided the basis for setting up the first global communication system, which is an important

step forward in the development of information technology. Space satellites have also made it possible to ensure direct TV transmission of major international events to all countries of the world. More than 140 countries use the INTELSAT international satellite system. Soviet communication satellites, which form the technical basis of the Intersputnik system, are used by different countries to exchange TV programmes and to ensure telegraph and telephone communication with many countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and America.

Regional and national satellite communication systems have proved highly effective for long-distance telephoning and for television broadcasting.....

The solution of the problems of direct telecasting to miniature collective and individual receivers via Sputniks will make it possible to widely practice teaching by television. Scientists are also studying other possibilities for raising the effectiveness of communication satellites.

Sea navigation is another area in which space satellites are increasingly finding application. Unlike short-wave radiocommunication, satellite communication is more reliable, more effective and cheaper. Space satellites make it possible for ships to receive prompt meteorological information, to organise an effective storm warning system, to choose the safest and most optimal sea routes and to cut substantially their sailing time. All this considerably improves the conditions of the usage of cargo and fishing vessels and passenger ships, and makes sea navigation more efficient.

By the end of 1981, about 900 ships were equipped with satellite communication stations. According to INMARSAT experts, another 1,700 ships will be equipped with such

stations by the end of 1987. Since the beginning of 1982, the ships ploughing the waters of the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian Oceans have been using the services of INMARSAT, the international organisation of marine satellite communication, which unites the 37 largest sea-powers.

The practice of sea navigation shows that in many cases the inaccurate location of ships—due to imperfect communication means—hampers search and rescue operations and leads to considerable damage and the loss of human life. Thus, more than 750 large ships were lost due to various reasons between 1978 and 1980 alone. The international space system KOSPAS-SARSAT, created jointly by Soviet, American, French and Canadian specialists, will help improve the means of locating ships and planes in distress. The system's equipment, designed by the participants in the project, will make it possible to determine the position of planes and ships in distress within a range of 3-5 kilometres.

Space equipment designed to register processes taking place in the atmosphere helps improve weather forecasting and raises its accuracy. A system of meteorological observation has been set up jointly by the USSR, the USA, West European countries and Japan. The information it provides is widely used in weather forecasting both locally and on a global scale.

Accurate weather forecasting determines the economic effect of the use of weather satellites. Thus, the space system Meteor, which has been successfully used for more than 15 years now, helps save 500-00 million roubles a year.

Surveying the natural resources of the earth from outer space is also very useful economically. Information obtained from

near-earth orbits is very helpful in forecasting crop yields, in evaluating pasture areas and forest resources, in analysing land tenure, in geological prospecting, in determining water catchment areas, in discovering the sources of water pollution, and in evaluating the damage resulting from natural disasters.

The study of the Earth's surface using space satellites is estimated to be 10-15 times cheaper per unit of area than aerial photography.

Surveys of the Earth from the Soviet orbital stations and Sputniks of the Meteor-Priroda type is used for implementing the plans for developing the Soviet fuel and raw material base, together with measures ensuring the rational management of nature and the recovery of land and water resources.....

Not long ago, the second UN Conference on the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes took place in Vienna. This international forum, in which representatives of about 100 countries took part, discussed the results of the first 25 years of the "space age," which started in October 1957 with the launching of a Soviet earth satellite.

— Science and Engineering
5.1.83

SCIENCE AND DOGMATISM

Although the literal meaning of the word 'dogma' was simply an opinion, it came to be regarded in ancient Greece as something "that seems good." In its modern connotation a dogma refers to a statement accepted as true by a group or an institution as part of the framework in which it functions. Usually the term is used in the context of

a religion or theology.

The Scientific enterprise is also based on certain implicit assumptions: For example, we take it for granted that there is something to be known, that every occurrence has a cause, that nothing comes out of nothing, that nature is governed by uniform laws, etc. Because of this it is sometimes stated that science has its own dogmas. From this one tends to conclude (somewhat illogically) that science is dogmatic.

What must be remembered is that the scientific community accepts its fundamental assumptions only because they seem to lead to meaningful and consistent results. Indeed, the history of science reveals that science has, when the need arose, abandoned some of its fundamental beliefs.

Consider, for example, the principle of conservation of matter. It was, in a sense, a dogma of science for over a century. But with the discovery of the equivalence between matter and energy, and their inter-convertibility, this principle was modified into a more satisfactory assumption, namely, the conservation of matter-energy. There is nothing sacred even about this principle: physicists have, on occasions considered the possibility of its violation also. In the 1920's for example, in the face of difficult conceptual situations in atomic physics. N. Bohr, H.A. Kramers, and J.C. Slater proposed that perhaps in certain processes the fundamental conservation principle does not hold. Physicists toyed with a similar idea again in the 1930's when difficulties arose in the explanation of the phenomenon of beta decay. Similarly, with the recognition of the uncertainty principle the notion of causality has undergone considerable modification. The Theory of Relativity threw out the dogmas of absolute space and absolute

time: the very foundations of classical physics.

Science has also been condemned for its dogmatism on another score: in its adamant refusal to incorporate supra-physical, psychic, spiritual, teleological, and similar factors as possible components of the universe. Now, since it is entirely possible that these could be ingredients of our universe, and that because of our limited or as yet undeveloped faculties we are unable to recognize them, it is sometimes claimed that science has no right to reject such possibilities. However, we should not forget that for more than three thousand years thinkers and investigators of various civilizations have talked about these, but very little tangible evidence for their existence has come forth. Even after the emergence of modern science, and down to our own times, some serious and competent scientists have believed in the existence of such phenomena and spent many years and energy in trying to unravel their existence, but with very little success. At least their efforts have not yielded discoveries which are compelling enough to be universally acclaimed as true when judged by the rather stringent standards of the scientific community.

Granted, anything and everything is indeed possible in an infinite universe of which we know but an infinitesimally small part. But until there is sufficient indication that something does exist, beyond enthusiastic statements from respected people, it would be unreasonable and futile to condemn the scientific community as being dogmatic unless it declares such a thing to be scientifically true.

Immanuel Kant characterized the dogmatic attitude as one which accepts basic premises uncritically. In this sense many individual

scientists are dogmatic. They do not always pause to reflect upon the basic assumptions of science. That is to say, they do not spend much time analyzing the epistemological import of the foundations of science. Whether this is a vice or a virtue is debatable, for the sheer material progress of science has been achieved to a large extent precisely when the working scientist goes ahead with available concepts and questionable suppositions. If Newton had spent more time on the compatibility of the concepts of absolute space and absolute time, he might never have formulated his principles in mechanics. If Euler had devoted his efforts towards the clarification of the metaphysical foundations of analysis-as did Berkeley-his contributions to mathematical physics would probably have been on a par with those of Berkeley. And if the theoretical physicists of the 19th century had paid too much attention to the epistemological thorns associated with causality and induction, they would quite possibly have refrained from making some of their bold generalizations. "Do you know why Einstein said the most original and profound things about space and time in our generation?", asked David Hilbert, and answered: "Because he had learned nothing at all about the philosophy of time and space!"

This certainly does not mean that the scientist should ignore the philosophical components of his quest. But the paradox of human achievement is that too much attention to minutiae right at the outset retards rather than facilitates advancement. Yet we must remember that every scientist of consequence has, at sometime or other, reflected on these questions, for without such an analysis science would be, in the words of Paul Valery, no more than "a collection of successful recipes."

V.V. Raman*
—Science and Culture
May 1983

EDUCATION IN BULGARIA

A. Fol, Minister of Education of the People's Republic of Bulgaria Writes :

Education and culture had a special mission in the history of the Bulgarian people. Bulgaria's greatest national achievements and contribution to universal human development lie in public education and the national culture.

The consolidation and development of the Bulgarian state in the 9th century was connected with the work of Cyril and Methodius and their disciples, with the creation of the Old Bulgarian script, with the establishment of the Bulgarian language (after Greek, Latin and Hebrew) in which the Christian religion was spread. The Ohrid school of Kliment (9th century), (Kliment was one of the first disciples of Cyril and Methodius) comprised about 33,500 pupils and trained ecclesiastics as well as teachers to instruct the people in the Bulgarian tongue. The 10th century saw such an efflorescence of Bulgarian education and culture that came justifiably to be called the Golden Age. After the liberation of Bulgaria from Byzantine rule, in the 13th and 14th century education and culture reached a second peak. Patriarch Euthymius, Gregory Tsamblak and other men of letters of international renown shine in the history of Bulgarian education and culture of that time.

Education and literature were the spiritual force which preserved the Bulgarian nationality in the subsequent 500 years of Ottoman bondage. Besides preserving it, they were the main motive force in the national revolution. Hristo Botev, Vassil Levski and all out-standing men of the liberation struggle of the Ottoman rule (19th century), the Bulgarians were the best educated population in the Ottoman Empire. In 1878, the year

of Bulgaria's Liberation, there were 1,500 schools in Bulgaria and 20 per cent of the population could read and write. In 1879 the first law on public education proclaimed compulsory primary school education.

After the victory of the people's democratic rule in 1944, the heritage was, generally speaking, good if we compare it to the educational standards in the big European countries which had developed freely for many centuries. A lot of work was done in Bulgaria to do away with the illiteracy that had been inherited and covered about 25 per cent of the population, and to enroll about 100,000 children (20 per cent of the total number) who did not attend school or had dropped out. The traditional stubbornness of the Bulgarian people, their striving for education and culture facilitated the solution of this problem.

The pre-school education of children from 3 to 6 years of age is a key factor in the further democratization of education in this country. Practically all children at the age of 6 attend a preparatory course for school. The overall good physical, intellectual and emotional fitness of the children has turned out to be an important condition for overcoming the existing socio-cultural differences among the strata of the population, and a necessary prerequisite for equal chances at school. Since 1959 primary education (up to the 8th grade) has been compulsory and now 98 per cent of the pupils that enroll in the 1st grade graduate from primary school. This in turn has created an opportunity for a gradual transition to compulsory secondary education. The past decade has seen major achievements. Whereas in 1970 only 33 per cent of the young people graduated from secondary school, in 1980—this percentage was 78.

After a nationwide discussion, theses were adopted in 1979 of the development of education in Bulgaria delineating the prospects until the year 2000.

The new essential feature of the theses is the gradual approximation and merging of general education and vocational training in a unified secondary polytechnical school of 12 grades, the attainment of a new quality of the compulsory secondary education, and the considerable development of the forms of education and training after graduation from secondary school.

The underlying principle in defining the structure of the school is the introduction of successive superimposed levels. In the secondary schools (and in higher educational establishments) three levels are envisaged.

The first level is the unified school (1st-10th grade) ensuring general and political education; the second level is responsible for a broad-profile vocational training; the third level is incipient specialization and professional and labour realization.

Such structuring of education is oriented to developing the individual inclinations and abilities, to overcoming the levelling out in the training of the youth, preserving the socially necessary minimum of a unified and easily assimilated instruction in the humanities and the sciences.

Those who go to work after the 10th grade, and those who already work but have not graduated from secondary school may attend evening and regular courses which will be extensively developed. Very bright pupils will be given the chance to attend intensive courses in the secondary school and higher educational establishments. Also there will be certain secondary schools with special orientation to the arts, or science or another, foreign languages and other special subjects.

—News From Bulgaria
May 198

ASHOKA—THE GREAT BUDDHIST MONARCH

the rocks of Girner, Dhauli and Kapurdigiri as :—

Hermine Sabetay Writes

The emperor Ashoka, who belonged to the Morya or Maurya dynasty, inherited from his grandfather Chandragupta and his father Bindusara a vast empire comprising nearly the whole of India, over which he reigned from 274 to 232 B.C. The extent of his dominion may be inferred from the widespread distribution of his inscriptions on rock and pillar disclosed by archaeological research.

Ashoka was the greatest and most celebrated of all the Indian rulers although he undertook only one campaign of conquest that of the kingdom of Kalinga (Orissa). Becoming aware of the suffering and misery inherent in war, he renounced plans for further military expeditions and became a devoted follower of the Buddhist faith. From the time of his conversion his greatest efforts were directed to the propagation of the 'good law' or Dharma in India and elsewhere. His edicts were engraved on rocks and columns and hundreds of these latter, erected in various places, exhorted his subjects to follow the way of righteousness. He protected animal life and recommended vegetarianism ; he abolished the cruel custom of hunting and prohibited animal sacrifice.

Turning to H. P. Blavatsky, we find the following statement :

Truly might we repeat with Professor Max Muller, that there are sentences in the inscriptions of King Ashoka 'which might be read with advantage by our own missionaries, though they are now more than 2000 years old.' Such inscriptions on

And again :

'A man ought to honour his faith only ; but he should never abuse the faith of others...There are even circumstances where the religion of others ought to be honoured. And in acting thus, a man fortifies his own faith and assists the faith of others.'

H. P. B. comments :

In what other religion of our day can be found the noble universal tolerance for all other faiths such as taught in Buddhism ? What other creed enforces such practical proofs of brotherly love and mutual toleration better or more effectually than does the godless faith preached by the Holy Master Shakya-Muni ?

The extant monolithic pillars on which the decrees are served, are six in number. The finest was excavated at Sarnath, near Benares, where the Lord Buddha preached his first sermon. This column, which is crowned by four lions supporting a wheel, is now the most noteworthy object in the Sarnath museum.

It is also known that Ashoka built a shrine at Bodh Gaya, one of the holiest places of the Buddhist world for it was there, under the sacred boahi tree, that Siddhartha Gautama attained enlightenment and became the Buddha. Though this simple shrine was later replaced by the present Mahabodhi temple, some remains of the original sanctuary are still to be seen.

Another important feature of Ashoka's reign was the sending of missionaries to various parts of India and to far-off countries

to promote the knowledge of Buddhist law and life. Ashoka's son, Mahendra, is said to have introduced it to Ceylon where the Theravada religion was established. According to tradition, his daughter, the Princess Sanghamitra, preached Buddhism in India and Ceylon.⁴ Other messengers went as far as the Mediterranean countries.

Hints concerning Buddhist influence in certain regions are to be found in *Isis Unveiled*.

The king of Eastern Hindustan, Ashoka, had embraced the religion of Siddhartha, and sent missionaries clear to Greece, Asia, Syria and Egypt to promulgate the evangel of wisdom. The Essenes of Judea and Arabia, the Therapeutists of Egypt and the Pythagorists of Greece and Magna Graecia, were evidently religionists of the new faith. The legends of Gautama superseded the myths of Horus, Anubis, Adonis, Atys, and Bacchus. These were wrought anew into the Mysteries and Gospels....⁵

The Essenes....were the converts of Buddhist missionaries who had overrun Egypt, Greece, and even Judea at one time, since the reign of Ashoka the zealous propagandist; and it is evidently to the Essenes that belongs the honour of having had the Nazarene reformer, Jesus, as a pupil...what is self-evident is that he preached the philosophy of Buddha-Shakyamuni.⁶

The Essenes...were converted to Buddhist monasticism by the missionaries of King Ashoka, and amalgamated later with the earliest Christians.⁷

Those who wrote the *New Testament* had become thoroughly well acquainted with Buddhist ritualistic worship, legends and doctrines, through the Buddhist missionaries

who were many in those days, in Palestine and Greece.⁸

The Essenes were a brotherhood of Jewish mystics who lived in monastic communities in the deserts of Palestine. Similar associations existed in Egypt under the name of Therapeutae ('healers'). These latter formed a contemplative order, while the Essenes of Judea were more concerned with practical work. They had esoteric and initiatory rites and practised baptism. As we have seen, the ambassadors of king Ashoka greatly influenced these ascetics and their doctrines, and the Buddhist message thus passed into early Christian Hands....

There is no doubt that primitive Christianity was imbued with the esoteric doctrines of the Jewish mystical communities—the Nazarene, Ebionites, thus and Essenes or Therapeutae; and 'there are many strange similarities between Gautama and Jesus.....'¹²

Though approaches differed in relation to the Buddhist teaching and the Christian Essence as between the Gretian Rites, the Christian prayer and science.

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—News From The Theosophist
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